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THE

CONQUEST OF SCINDE,

WITH SOME

INTRODUCTORY PASSAGES IN THE LIFE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES JAMES NAPIER.

DEDICATED TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL W. F. P. NAPIER,

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"HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE PENINSULA AND THE SOUTH OF FRANCE."

20197

PART I.

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NOTICE.

It is designed to publish this work in three distinct parts. They will treat of the political, military, and administrative proceedings of Sir Charles Napier. The first is published now, separately, with the object of rebutting the factious accusations made against a successful General, in the hope of wounding through him the Nobleman under whose auspices he conquered a great and rich kingdom, and relieved a numerous people from a miserable state of slavery.

W. Napier,

Major-General.

December, 1844.

THE

CONQUEST OF SCINDE,

ETC. ETC.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

To the British people who still honour a bold stroke in war, this brief record of a glorious exploit is dedicated. The conquest belongs to the nation, so does the conqueror, and to the people's keeping his fame is committed: they will not fail towards a general whose heroic resolution has renewed the wonders of Poictiers and Agincourt.

Sordid factious writers have described Sir Charles Napier as a ferocious warrior, seeking with avidity the destruction of men; and to make the reproach more large, designated him as one of a brood, bearing the name, always ready for blows and blood. That he and others of his family have been ready with the sword in defence of their country is true. That they seek to spill blood for strife's sake is false; and two of them have need to be chary of blows which topple down thrones and change the fate of kingdoms. Dom Miguel of Portugal, a melancholy exile in Rome—the Egyptian Ibrahim, a fugitive from Syria—the fallen tyrants of Scinde, clanking their chains for the ears of sympathising

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Englishmen as base as themselves, attest the vigour of their conquerors in war; but peace, and the arts of peace, have ever been the aim and study of the man who fought so sternly at Meeanee and Hyderabad: he warred there because peace and his country's cause were incompatible.

The mountains of Cephalonia, furrowed with roads scarcely inferior to that of Mont Cenis in greatness, and equal in skilful contrivance—the harbours of that island improved by fine quays, ameliorated and adorned with lighthouses of beautiful construction—fisheries created—agriculture advanced—the law courts reformed—the oppression of feudal chiefs rebuked—justice upheld, and the honest affections of the labouring people secured by unwearied exertion for their welfare: these, the undeniable fruits of Sir Charles Napier's government of Cephalonia, are solid vouchers for that benignity of purpose which renders industry in the works of peace glorious. His efforts were indeed painful, for always they were clogged, and finally stopped by the vulgar jealousy of a splenetic man in power, to whom stupid pomp appeared the vital principle of government. Incapable of distinguishing justice from oppression, honesty from treachery, vigour from arrogance,—all seeming alike to his narrow intellect,—he first obstructed the good man's active beneficence, and then drove him from his post with an accusation of tyranny. The home authorities, the distant rulers, listened and believed; but the men on the spot, the labouring people, who were designated as the miserable victims of his harshness, passed their comment; and it is a cordial with a pearl more precious than Cleopatra's, to cheer those who strive honestly for the welfare

Vide Napier on the Colonies. A scarce work because of the efforts made to suppress it.

of the poor and lowly. Thus it runs. Sir Charles Napier, when he was iniquitously deprived of his command, held in Cephalonia a piece of land so small that he took no heed of it as his departure. Not so the grateful Greek peasants. They voluntarily cultivated the ground, and have transmitted the value of it yearly ever since, without his being even cognizant of their names!

But while the Lord High Commissioner, Adam, could only see in the military Resident of Cephalonia a person to be crushed by the leaden weight of power without equity, there was another observer in that island who appreciated, and manfully proclaimed the great qualities of the future conqueror of Scinde. This man, himself a butt for the rancour of envious dulness, was one whose youthful genius pervaded the world while he lived, and covered it with a pall when he died. For to him, mountain and plain, torrent and lake, the seas, the skies, the earth, light and darkness, and even the depths of the human heart, gave up their poetic secrets; and he told them again with such harmonious melody, that listening nations marvelled at the sound, and when it ceased they sorrowed. Lord Byron noted, and generously proclaimed the merits which Sir Frederick Adam marked as defects. Writing from Cephalonia in 1823, he thus expressed his opinion.

"Of Colonel Napier's military character, it were superfluous to speak; of his personal character, I can say, from my own knowledge, as well as from all public rumour, or private report, that it is excellent as his military: in short, a better or a braver man is not easily to be found. *He* is our man to lead a regular force, or to organize a

Vide Moore's Life of Byron, vol. VI, page 99.

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national one for the Greeks. Ask the army; ask any one."

This eulogy, so warm so earnest and so true, pronounced when Greece, struggling to be free, like her own fabled Encêlädus shook the world at every throe, had reference to a design for delivering the bright land of ancient days. It was largely conceived, maturely arranged, and many ardent men had been engaged by Sir Charles Napier for the execution; men hardy and habituated to war, who, tired of inactivity and warmed with a love for Greece and her olden times, had full confidence in their intended chief's ability to plan, and in his courage to lead. Ready and eager they were, under his guidance, to throw themselves, with their valour, their military knowledge, their enthusiasm, and their wealth, which was not small, into the Peloponnesus. He was known also to the Greeks of the continent. His beneficent and vigorous government of Cephalonia had not been unobserved by that acute race; and such had been his kindness to the dispossessed Suliotes, that they called him father! The enterprise, therefore, bade fair for success: but Lord Byron's recommendation, and Sir C. Napier's offered services, were alike disregarded by the Greek Committee in London. Why! it is for the Humes, the Ellices, and Bowrings to say. For Greece it was a misfortune; for England a happy neglect. The acquisition of Scinde, that rich and promising kingdom in the East, gained by a just war and one most grateful to humanity, with the concomitant advantage of restoring our shaken military reputation in India, has been, with long space indeed between cause and effect, the final result.

Sir Charles Napier's plan for the deliverance of Greece was not the only project formed by him against the Turkish power, which he abhorred from witnessing the great cruelties exercised on the unhappy people of the Archipelago and Peloponnesus. He had been previously employed on a secret military mission to Ali, Pacha of Yoanina, who consulted him as to operations against the forces of the Porte, then menacing the Pachalic. "Give me," said Napier, "the selection of your troops, and one of the millions in your coffers, and in six weeks I will place you in the seraglio, Sultan of Constantinople, if you will declare the Christians free." The Pacha liked the project, and attentively examined the details of arrangement, but he would not give the treasure! One month afterwards he offered two millions! The reply was:—"Too late; the Turks are in the Etolian mountains! you are lost." The miser, Ali, gave up his life and his money together. This, and other experience, gave Sir Charles Napier a clear insight of the character and policy of Asiatic barbarians, which he has since profited from.

During his forced retirement from military life, he added several works to his country's literature, under the following titles:—"*The Roads of Cephalonia;*" "*The Colonies;*" "*Colonization, with Remarks upon small farms and overpopulation;*" "*Military Law,*" a work eloquent, and copious of anecdote; "*An Essay on the State of Ireland;*" "*Notes upon De Vigny's Lights and Shadows of Military Life;*" finally, a historical romance, called "*Harold of England,*" not published, but worthy of being so, and shewing the author's versatile powers of mind.

He became a Major-General by the brevet of

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1837; and Lord Hill, at the recommendation of Lord FitzRoy Somerset, a man who was not to be swayed by calumny, though it was not spared, placed him in the command of the northern district of England. It was a troubled and critical period, and his political opinions were well known; they had been strongly expressed in public at fitting times and places; but his ability, his judgment, and his unswerving integrity of purpose, and rectitude, as a military man, gained him the approbation of the Government of the day, and of the magistrates generally, without any ill-will from the people, who did full justice to the honest desire he shewed for their welfare, even while he was forced to controul them by arms. He was treated with injustice by Macaulay, the Whig Secretary at war, but Lord John Russell, the Home Secretary, acknowledged his merits; and in the autumn of 1841. 1841, Lord Hill offered him a command in India.

Proceeding by the overland journey, he, in passing through Egypt, seized, with characteristic quickness, the vicious weakness of Mehemet Ali's government, which he thus exposed with the indignation of a man abhorring cruelty and selfish oppression.

Letter to the Author of this work

"A person who has been but a short time in a "country has no right to suppose he can trace "causes with certainty; he can, however, judge of "effects when they are strongly marked. Rich "land, a variety of produce, with a ready market "for it in Europe, and a noble people, belong to "this country. Mehemet Ali has ruled it for forty "years, and the result is horrible! I have not seen, "nor can I hear of any deed of his, nor the result "of any of his deeds, that has not the stamp of

" tyranny, of mischief, of villainy. His mind is
" capable of projecting clever things for his own
" supposed advantage, or pleasure, or renown, but
" incapable of great works for the regeneration of a
" people, or even for their temporary advantage:
" he does not even leave the means of subsistence
" in their possession! His only really great work,
" the Canal of Mahmoudie, eighteen feet deep,
" ninety feet wide, and sixty miles long, cost, it is
" asserted here, the lives of twenty-nine thousand
" persons in one year, out of the hundred and fifty
" thousand employed: they were starved by him,
" and dug the canal with their hands! Take that
" as a sample of his infernal rule. A great man
" would have given them tools; he would not, to
" save expence, have slain twenty-nine thousand
" poor men within the year. And when his canal
" was finished, the commerce on it would have
" proved its use, and his greatness; but no boat
" floats thereon which does not contain the Pacha's
" property, for no man but himself is a proprietor.
" This high way of two hundred miles through his
" dominions, for it is one with the Nile, exhibits
" no sign, therefore, that the barbarian's mind is
" either great or good. What encouragement has
" he given to his people? None! He has hired
" foreign men to make all things which he requires
" for war; and his establishments are of a size
" which render his government one of devilish op-
" pression; his monopolies no country could sup-
" port; he is living on his capital!

" To give an illustration of his system. Let A
" be one district, B another. The rent is alike for
" each. Some accident injures the crop on B, and
" it becomes impossible for the people to pay more

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"than half their rent. The Pacha levies the deficiency on A, and both are ruined! Again, an Abyssian, or some other merchant from the interior of Africa arrives with cattle, or other goods, he is offered a large sum in cash; he cannot take it! The Pacha seizes his goods, and pays him, *when convenient*, with articles from the Pacha's own stock of merchandise of various kinds, to the amount of *half* the value; and this robbery is so frequent as to be the rule, not the exception. The Pacha then sells the cattle to the original cash purchaser, and all trade is thus checked, except that which is in the hands of Englishmen.—The result of all this is a ruined miserable people."

"The troops are ill equipped, but they are the best thing one sees, except the ships of war. The men, both soldiers and peasants, are fine strong Arabs, with thin faces, and intellectual to the greatest degree; good-humoured, honest-looking, and resolute. The Egyptian I have not been able, yet, to distinguish from the Arab; but *all* appear fine looking. In five days I have seen many beaten severely, by men in authority, without any apparent cause; they all seemed disposed to resist, but the consequences were too terrible, and smothered rage was very clearly depicted. Forty years rule should have produced better fruit, if Mehemet Ali were, as we are told, a great man; but of that I see no proof, no trace! Ibrahim beat a man to death last week in this town (Cairo). The poor fellow did not bring eggs enough?—'How many turkeys have you got?—How much corn do they eat?—Do they lay eggs to cover that amount?'—'Yes!'—'Then you

" must bring me so many eggs daily.' The man " failed for two or three days. Ibrahim sent for " the wretched creature, and with his own hands, " using a club, beat him to death ! I recollect his " doing the like when I was in Cephalonia." CHAP. I. 1841.

" Ali Pacha's '*vast improvements*,' have been to " strengthen his forces, and he has done that, but " at ten times the cost necessary. My conviction " is, that his reputation for greatness originates in " the opinions and interests of silly English adven- " turers and speculating merchants, incapable of " judging him, but whose fortunes he makes, and " from no other source. *The man lives upon his* " *capital.* How far this may be forced upon him, I " cannot tell."

Mehemet Ali's faults were not the only objects of animadversion. A professional gentleman living in Egypt, and not unwilling to be quoted as authority for the fact, if its accuracy should be questioned, affirmed that, *the comptrollers of the British Museum, had directed the engineer employed to remove objects of ancient art from Egypt, to cut the statue of Sesostris into four pieces, that it might be sent to England more cheaply !* The engineer refused obedience. Let antiquarians look to this matter. One rude British soldier prevented the vandalism, another tells them of it.

Sir Charles Napier, having reached Bombay, was appointed to command at Poonah, and soon attracted public notice by his professional activity ; and he quickly detected, and in his letters forcibly depicted the vices, civil and military, which had gained such strength under Lord Auckland's government, if they did not originate with it, that the total destruction of the Indian army, and the 1842.

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ruin of the Indian Empire seemed to be hastening on with giant strides. To give his views at length, and in his own nervous language, would be of little public service now and might be injurious; but those views were at the time shewn to competent authority at home, and returned to the author of this history, with this remark: "*Too true a picture drawn by a master hand.*" But it was at this moment that, for the salvation of India, Lord Ellenborough came, to curb the nepotism of the Directors,—to repress the jobbing tribe,—to reduce the editors of newspapers from a governing to a reporting class, and to raise the spirit of the army, sinking under insult and the domineering influence of grasping civilians, who snatched the soldier's share and calumniated him through a hireling press.

Deeply impressed with the danger menacing India from within and from without, Sir Charles Napier hastened to offer Lord Ellenborough his opinions upon the military operations, and gave him a general plan of campaign for the second Affghan invasion. The principal points of which, were the relief of Sir Robert Sale,—the restoration of Dost Mohamed,—the evacuation of Affghanistan,—and the occupation of the left bank of the Indus. To effect these objects, he recommended an attack on the Kyber passes in front from Peshawar, and the simultaneous turning of them by both flanks, while a force advanced from Candahar to Cabool, and assailed the passes from that quarter also. He treated each operation in detail, and finished with this declaration.

Vide App. to c. i. §. 1.

"The chief cause of our disasters is this,—When a smart lad can speak Hindostanee and Persian, he is *made a political agent*, and *supposed to be a states-*

man and a general." What influence this memoir had upon Lord Ellenborough's judgment, or whether it merely coincided with his own previously formed opinions and plans, is known only to himself; but the leading points were in union with the after operations of Nott and Pollock, and with that abatement of the political agency which gave so much offence in India, to those who profited by the nuisance.

While thus offering the aid of a long experience to Lord Ellenborough, General Napier did not neglect the proper duties of his own command. To exercise himself in the handling of troops in the field, a practice useful, and necessary for the most experienced officer if he would be a ready captain in battle; and to improve the rather neglected discipline of what he truly called the "*the noble Indian army*," he broke from the monotony of formal parades on carefully levelled ground, and worked his strong division of troops over the neighbouring hills: thus arousing the latent energies of the officers, and making both himself and his troops, mindful that they were regular soldiers and not trainbands.

He disabused them also of a pernicious error, which had been inculcated by the newspapers of India, with a pertinacity of falsehood peculiarly characteristic. They said, and belief was given to them though worthy only of unbelief, "*that the matchlock of the Affghan and other enemies was superior to the British musket in range and precision.*" Simply to reason against this widely spread and assiduously inculcated fallacy, would be, he knew, fruitless. Promulgated with a bad motive, it had been accepted as a truth with dogged credu-

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lity. Wherefore he resolved to refute it practically, and to draw attention to the refutation, adopted an ingenious device.

Provoking a warm admirer of the matchlock to produce a marhatta equal to a contest with a musketeer; he meanwhile selected some men and officers of the sepoys, practised with them himself, until he discovered the best shot, and then daily contended in person with this man. They were nearly equal, the camp became interested, bets were multiplied, the partisans of each weapon were fairly pitted against each other, not only for the trial but in the thoughts of the soldiers: this was the General's object. Thus he bent the stiffened neck of the prejudice, and at the end of two months the supporter of the matchlock admitted that he could not win: moreover it was proved that while the matchlock could only be fired five or six times in half an hour, the musketeer could fire sixty shots, and send twenty home to the mark at 150 yards distance. "*Then,*" to use the General's words, "*the matchlock was laughed at, and the musket got its place again.*" This dexterous management of the soldier indicated the great captain before the red stamp of battle made him patent. Previous to this trial a feeling was prevalent, that to encounter the matchlock was to fall, before their own weapons could harm an enemy; and it was in vain to point out that the Affghans fired from high places down upon uncovered troops, whose fire-arms discharged at almost perpendicular elevation could scarcely reach, or, if they did, could scarcely harm men ensconced in the rocks above; that the advantage was in the position, not in the weapon, and to neutralize it depended on the General. The sepoy's

musket is however of an ancient pattern, and unnecessarily clumsy and heavy; for that strange economy prevails in India as elsewhere, which spares a pound in the cost of a soldier's weapon, to be repaid by the loss of the soldier himself, although he never goes into battle for less than a hundred pounds.

Sir Charles Napier observed many errors in the organization and discipline of the Indian army, and digested in his own mind several changes with respect to the artillery and baggage, some of which he has effected since attaining the command of a separate army; and always he was sanguine of good in these matters, because of the willingness to learn which he found in the Company's officers. But the follies of the time were great and manifold, and one for its supreme absurdity merits notice. Every soldier was ordered to have a large box, in addition to the usual baggage of an Indian army! The 22nd regiment, acting under this preposterous regulation, marched for Scinde with 1,300 of these boxes! A camel can carry only four, and thus more than 300 camels, each occupying five yards in theory, but in practice ten yards, on the line of march, were added to the "*impedimenta*" of a single and rather weak battalion! Truly the strong hand of Lord Ellenborough was wanting to lift our Indian Government from such a slough. He came in time, and no man watched his government with more anxiety than the General at Poonah, who, in common with others, looked to the Affghan operations as the test of his ability. Nor was his mind quickly relieved, for previous to the final burst of Nott and Pollock on Cabool, he could discover no military principle of action, nothing positive to guide his judgment of the operations executed or designed,

Vide App. to c. I. §. 1.

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and he characterised the war by this one expressive phrase: "*A tragic harlequinade.*"

Meanwhile the public opinion of his own capacity for great actions became strong, and a vague prescience of glory under his guidance, that undefinable sentiment which so often foreruns victory, and predisposes men to give all their energies to the accomplishment, was not wanting in the military community. Yet he sought not, nor desired any active command beyond the Indus. He disliked the appearance of affairs, and was disgusted with the shameless system foully pervading all branches of the public service, a system which he, having then no experience of Lord Ellenborough's great qualities, could not hope to see overborne, supported as it was by factious persons of influence in England, and by the Directory; and in India by the most vehemently unscrupulous press that ever pandered for hire to bad men at the expense of the public interests. Little inclination he felt therefore, to become personally mixed with and responsible, according to his degree, for disasters, which he could not but anticipate from the policy of the rulers, but which he knew would inevitably be charged upon the executive officers; for to make bricks without straw and to be calumniated, is the usual task and the fate of British generals.

His destiny was not in his choice. After some hesitation as to the quarter for employing him, a final order from the Governor-General sent him to Scinde. Dated the 26th of August, it directed him to assume the command of the troops in that country and in Beloochistan, and it gave him entire controul over all the political agents and civil officers. He was instructed to keep possession of

Parliamentary Papers on Scindian Affairs, page 352.

Kurrachee, and peremptorily informed, that, "*If the Ameers, or any one of them, should act hostilely, or evince hostile designs against the British forces, it was the Governor-General's fixed resolution never to forgive the breach of faith, and to exact a penalty which should be a warning to every chief in India.*"

The fierce tenor of this order, issued at a moment of great difficulty, and immediately after great disasters, bespoke in Lord Ellenborough a consciousness of danger, and a magnanimous resolution; and it told Sir Charles Napier that a crisis demanding all his energy and ability was at hand; that much was expected from him, but by a ruler who would neither shrink himself, nor fail towards others. Wherefore, though sixty-one years of age, with a frame always slight and meagre, and though sinewy and of iron hardness furrowed with many wounds, he hastened to Scinde with the alacrity of a young warrior. Yet bred from his childhood in camps, he had been nearly fifty years waiting for this crowning trial of his military life. Where is the man to be found who made his first essay as General-in-Chief, at so great an age, with such fiery energy and success, combining such consummate sagacity with matchless daring and resolution? The Roman Paulus conquered Macedon in a single battle at the same period of life, but he had long before commanded against the Illyrians and Spaniards; Scinde is a richer country than Macedon, infinitely more formidable from heat, and the Beloochees are a braver race than the soldiers of Perseus. It is rare to see great prudence in war tempering the heroic valour and confidence of a youthful general, but more marvellous to find the fierce sanguine daring of early years, untamed by age

PART I. and its infirmities, invigorating, without abating the discretion of the veteran.

1842. September. Sir Charles Napier embarked at Bombay in the Zenobia steamer, on the 3rd of September; thus commencing his new career upon Oliver Cromwell's fortunate day, a coincidence which he did not fail to note with some satisfaction as a good omen. Yet the augury seemed at fault in the beginning; for scarcely had the vessel, which was full of troops, gained the open sea, when cholera broke out in the worst form, and the hideous misery of the voyage, which lasted until the 9th, shall be given in his own words.

Letter MS. "In those six bitter days and nights we cast "fifty-four dead into the sea, just one-fourth of our "companions! One passenger, it happened, was "a surgeon, and he was assisted by two native "apprentices belonging to the hospitals: fortu- "nately, only two of the sailors died, or we should "have been lost for want of hands. The engineer "perished the third day, but happily, there were "amongst the passengers two others going to the "steamers on the Indus. Since landing, ten more "soldiers have died, and one captain, making "sixty-four in all! This pulls down the spirits of "men. It was the worst description of blue "cholera. The agonies, the convulsions, the dread- "ful groans, were heart-rending: and then the "screams of the poor women who lost their hus- "bands and children! And, amidst all this, in "the darkness of the night, the necessity of throw- "ing the dead overboard the instant life was "extinct, to make room for the living! Then also, "added to this scene of human wretchedness, the "violent effects of the disease could not be cleaned,

" and extreme filth increased the misery. Well! " God be praised! it has ceased, but more troops " are on this voyage, and I dread to hear of similar " sufferings, for most of it has been caused by " neglect. I have made a formal complaint to Sir " George Arthur, who, I am sure, will stir about " the matter. The Commander of the Zenobia, " Mr. Newman, is a noble fellow. I believe all " that were saved owe their lives to him; and we, " the officers, have given him a gold snuff-box in " token of our gratitude."—" On making the land " both mates got drunk, and such a night scene of " confusion I never saw. We were nearly as possible " on a reef of rocks; we fired guns and rockets, " but no help came. Had we struck, all must have " perished; at least, all the sick, eighty in number: " at last we cast anchor, and luckily on good " holding ground."

His first care was to provide comforts for the survivors of this dreadful voyage, which he effected by the 10th, but further mishap awaited himself. On the 13th, while observing the practice of a rocket train, one of the fiery missiles burst, rocket and shell together, and tore the calf of his right leg open to the bone, but neither the bone itself nor the great artery was injured; the wound was instantly stitched and dressed, and then a life of temperance aided by a patient spirit of endurance was repaid with a surprising cure. The hurt, jagged as it was, healed by the first intention, and in four days he was out of his tent: the fifth saw him free from fever, on horseback, travelling with an escort of wild troopers towards Hyderabad.

Some superstition the human mind, whether strong or weak, seems always to lean towards, and

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several of the greatest have rested thereon; those who deal in war seldom reject predestination, and Sir Charles Napier's life, one justifying Lord Byron's remark that truth is more strange than fiction, encourages this sentiment though reason should recoil. In infancy he was snatched while at the last stage of starvation from a vile nurse; while a young boy, attempting a dangerous leap, he tore the flesh from his leg in a frightful manner; a few years later he fractured the other leg. At the battle of Coruna, struggling with several French soldiers, he received five terrible wounds, and but for the aid of a generous French drummer would there have been killed; he was made a prisoner, and his fate being long unknown, he was mourned for as dead by his family. In the battle of Busaco, a bullet struck his face and lodged behind the ear splintering the articulation of the jawbone, and with this dreadful hurt he made his way under a fierce sun to Lisbon, more than one hundred miles! Returning from France after the battle of Waterloo, the ship sunk off Flushing, and he only saved himself by swimming to a pile, on which he clung, until a boat carried him off, half drowned, for the pile was too large to climb up, and he having caught it during the recession of a wave, was overwhelmed by each recurring surge. Now; escaping cholera, and a second shipwreck off the Indus, and marvellously recovering from the stroke of that unlucky rocket at Kurrachee, he was again on horseback, and hastening to conduct with matchless energy a dangerous war—and he did conduct it to a glorious termination; for neither age, nor accident, nor wounds, had quenched his fiery spirit; but how the spare body, shattered in

battle and worn by nearly fifty years service in every variety of climate, could still suffice to place him amongst the famous captains of the world, is a mystery. His star was in the East!

Scinde was, at this period, in a very disturbed political state. The great disasters of the British army at Cabool and at Ghusni; the frequent checks given to detached troops by the hill tribes of Beloochistan; the recent repulse and retreat of Colonel England before an Affghan force of only equal strength in men, and having no artillery! even the firm, but long isolated position of General Nott at Candahar, had abated the barbarian's fear of British power; and the Beloochees of Scinde, were, princes and chiefs and followers, alike hostilely inclined. Colonel England was now returning by the Bolan passes from Quettah, having under his orders the greatest part of the troops destined to form Sir Charles Napier's army; the Ameers were keenly watching his progress, and had a second disaster befallen him, they would have declared war, for only four thousand men were then in Scinde, part at Kurrachee, part at Sukkur—that is to say, four hundred miles asunder, and with insecure means of communication.

This critical state of affairs demanded the instant exercise of the General's sagacity and energy—and he was ready. "Danger from their warfare I can "see none," he wrote from Kurrachee. "I can beat "all the Princes of Scinde. When Colonel England "joins me, I shall have twelve thousand men; no "cavalry, however; which I should feel the want of "if the Ameers attack me; but I shall have some "soon. My difficulty will be to act as chief poli- "tical agent to the Governor-General. I *believe*

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"his intentions to be just and honourable. I *know* "my own are. But Hell is paved with good in- "tentions, and both of us may have great difficul- "ties to encounter. Yet I feel neither diffidence "nor hesitation. My plan is formed, so is Lord "Ellenborough's, and I believe they are alike. "The hill tribes threaten to fall on Colonel Eng- "land's column as it descends the Bolan pass. "There are, however, reasons to doubt this, and "I have sent to advise and authorise the Com- "mander in Upper Scinde to make a forward move- "ment towards the pass, which I hope he will be "able to do, and thus favour England's retreat by "menacing the rear of his enemies. He has the "mass of my troops with him; I have only four "thousand in Upper Scinde. I ought to have been "here two months ago. I have now to travel two "hundred miles up the Indus, with a guard of only "fifty men through a hostile country. This ap- "pears foolish; but I must do it—I must get to "my troops. I set off to-morrow, and there will "be no small interest in threading the windings of "the noble river Indus."

Sept. 19. When near Hyderabad, he judged it fitting to wait on the Ameers as a mark of respect, and also to form an opinion of their characters by personal observation. These Princes, though of barbaric race and feelings, sensual, and cruel, and treacherous, were nevertheless polite of manners, subtil, and dexterous to sound those depths and shallows of the human mind which are formed by the whirlpools of crime and passion, they had guides thereto in their own dispositions; but for virtues they had no tests and looked not for them. They knew, for they had made diligent inquiry, that the

General came with all political as well as military power, which had not been before even when Lord Keane menaced their capital at the head of a great army; wherefore, they hastened to offer suitable respect to the powerful Feringee with whom they had to deal. Their palanquin was sent for his use, and this the highest honour of their court, was enhanced by the presence of their sons, who met him a quarter of a mile beyond the city gates. With these young Lords came camels for the General's retinue; and around the Princes clustered the great Sirdars and nobles on horseback, with all their thousands of retainers, chiefs and followers having keen heavy swords girt to their sides and large shields thrown over their shoulders. The General was at the head of his own guard of the wild horsemen of India, and thus they met, the two masses commingling, and surrounded by a multitude on foot shouting and screaming. Then altogether they moved with a rushing pace towards the Palace. A gorgeous disarray! For all were clothed in the brightest colours, and their splendid arms gleamed and glittered in the broad sunbeams; and high above the crowd the giant camels swayed their huge bodies to and fro, with an uneasy motion, while the fiery horses, bearing rich housings, neighed and bounded with violence from side to side, their swarthy riders tossing their sinewy hands aloft with almost frantic energy, and writhing their bodies convulsively. And all this time the multitude on foot were no less vehement. Wearing fine embroidered caps, which set off their handsome eager faces, their piercing eyes, and teeth of snowy whiteness, they pressed forwards fighting and crushing each other to see the "General Saib of the

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Feringees." He, reclining on green cushions in the open high arched palanquin of crimson and gold, a small dark-visaged old man, but with a falcon's glance, must have disappointed their expectations, for they knew not then the heroic force of mind which was so soon to invalidate their wild strength and furious courage on the dreadful field of Meeanee. Now, ignorant, proud and fierce, with barbarian pomp they passed tumultuously along, winding in the deep shadows of the ancient massive towers of Hyderabad, their numbers increasing at every step, until they reached the high embattled gate of the fortress, through which the bearers of the palanquin could scarcely struggle to the palace; but when they did the hubbub ceased, and the Ameers, having, as they said, consideration for the hurt the General had received at Kurrachee, formed their Dhurbar in the Court below to save him the pain of ascending their great staircase.

These sovereign Princes were richly dressed, and their swords and shields were resplendent with gold and jewels. None were handsome of person or face, but all were youthful, except Nusseer and another, both being however younger than their visitor. Sweetmeats and provisions were presented after the manner of their Court, and compliments were exchanged, while each party watched keenly for indications of character by which to guide their future intercourse. What impression the Englishman made on the Ameers cannot be known, but the studied respect, the oriental politeness, the princely pomp and the display of wild military power by which they sought to impose on him, failed to affect his judgment. Well knowing that a barbarian's friendship is self interest, his

wisdom deceit, he kept his mind immoveably intent upon the object of his mission. He was in Scinde, not to bandy compliments with Princes, but to maintain the power and influence and interests of England in all their integrity according to treaty, at a moment of danger to all and when a slight concession might prove fatal. With this object diplomatic cajolery had no proper connection. His orders and his resolutions were, to maintain the cause of British India, by a fair and just though stern and unyielding policy, if it might be so; by force of arms if policy failed. Hence he put aside all thoughts of their flattering attentions, and frankly and honourably, even in the midst of their grandeur and while the flow of their politeness seemed to invite friendship, gave them an austere but timely and useful warning, that the previous unsteady weak policy of diplomatic agents in Scinde would no longer facilitate deceitful practices against the tenor of international obligations. For already, at Kurrachee, he had obtained proof that the Ameers were acting a disloyal part; he was anxious to let them know that he was cognizant of their malpractices, their violations of treaties; and he told them that if they did not cease, he would make the new Governor-General cognizant of them also, with a view to a forcible remedy.

His letter, written on the 25th of September, being delivered, he passed on to Sukkur, where he arrived the 5th of October, and forthwith commenced a series of political and military operations, which reduced the Ameers to the choice of an honest policy or a terrible war. They chose dishonesty and battle; they tried deceit and were

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baffled by a superior intellect; they raised the sword and were themselves cut down by a stronger arm. Why it so happened, in despite of the General's earnest wish and indefatigable exertions to preserve peace, shall be shewn in another place; clearly it shall be shewn, that the war was of the Ameers' own seeking, that their heavy misfortunes are the just punishment of their folly and wickedness; a misery only to them, to the world a benefit. With abilities and energies placing him amongst the greatest of those famed western Captains who have forced the pride of the East to stoop on the battle field, Sir Charles Napier sought not strife, it was thrust upon him! But a previous knowledge of the peculiar position of Scinde in 1842, and its connection with British Indian policy when he assumed the command at Sukkur, must be obtained and considered by those who would reach the truth, and are anxious to be assured that the dreadful sword of England was not drawn in an unjust quarrel. Wherefore, the next chapter shall contain a retrospective examination; for the Scindian war was no isolated event. It was, to use the conqueror's expression, "*The tail of the Affghan storm.*"

CHAPTER II.

THE origin and progress of British power in the East is well known. Commencing in trade it has been magnified, by arms and policy, and the glittering bubble must expand until it burst or it will collapse. Strangers coming from afar, more civilized, more knowing in science and arts, more energetic of spirit, more strong of body, more warlike, more enterprising, than the people among whom they settle, must necessarily extend their power until checked by natural barriers, or by a counter-civilization. The novelty of their opinions, political and religious, the cupidity of their traders, the ambition or avarice of their chiefs, the insolence of superiority, and even the instinct of self-preservation, render collision with the native populations and their rulers inevitable, and conquest as inevitable as collision. It is the struggle of the fertile land with the desert of Egypt, the waters of the Nile directed against the waste, the stream of civilization against barbaric ignorance. The reflux of barbarian power continually menaces British India, producing wars, leading to wars; peace cannot be till all is won. And the necessity for expansion is more urgent, because the subjected people's condition has not been improved in proportion to the extent of the conquest or the greatness of the conquerors. The frame of government, comparatively, not essentially just and liberal, wants the

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support of benevolent wisdom and prying enemies must be kept at a distance.

This inherent craving for aggrandizement has carried British India to the roots of the Himalayas on the North, menacing or menaced by the mountaineers of Nepaul; to the Irrawaddy on the East, grating harshly with the Burman empire. It has sent fleets and armies to obtain a corner nest in China for the incubation of commerce; but the eggs will produce the gliding serpent, the ravening kite, and the soaring eagle. China will be overturned, changed in all her institutions, unless her politic people, acquiring as they are like to do, the arts of European warfare, thrust the intruding strangers quickly from the land.

The march of aggrandizement has been more rapid towards the West, because there is felt the influence of a counter-civilization, if such a term can be applied to Russia, expanding towards the East. The danger is prospective and probably distant, but not to be despised, inasmuch as the basis of Russian strength is natural and enormous. A perception of this truth has hurried, not without policy, the British Indian frontier towards the West, where, under the name of sovereignty, protection, or influence, it extended before the Affghan war, along the left bank of the Sutledge to the lower Indus, and from thence by the Thurr, or great Indian desert, to the run of Cutch and the ocean. From that line the bayonets of England protruded, and her voice of command went forth to the nations of Central Asia: let the state of those nations, then, be considered, before the policy of invading them to forestall Russia be judged.

The country beyond the Sutledge, was, in Alex-

ander's days, the kingdoms of Porus and Taxiles. It is now the Punjaub, or land of the five rivers, namely, the Sutledge or Garra, formed by the junction of the ancient *Hyphasis* and *Hesudrus*; the Ravee, or *Hydrastes* of the Greeks; the *Acessines* of antiquity, now the Chenaub; the Jelum, formerly the *Hydaspes*, upon the banks of which the Macedonian hero overcame the giant Indian chief; the *Indus*, which still retains its first name. These streams, descending from the ranges of the Himalayas or Indian Caucasus, flow southward until they unite to form that great river called by Europeans the lower Indus. Their union is completed at Mittun, below Moultan, and from thence the vast volume of their waters bears downward to the sea through an immense plain, which, commencing far above their junction, ends only at the coast: this plain is overflowed periodically in summer by the Indus, as the Nile overflows the land of Egypt.

Looking at the countries watered by these rivers, as they confronted the British line before the Affghan war, in the order of their descent from the mountains, we find Cashemere at top lying amongst the branches of the five streams, the Punjaub next, and Scinde lowest. This may be called the *first parallel* of nations then opposed to British India.

Westward of the Indus, at a mean distance of forty or fifty miles, a majestic shoot from the Indian Caucasus goes southward to the sea, bearing many names, such as the Soolyman, the Bolan, and Hala mountains. It presents in its whole length a natural wall of rugged strength, pierced only in a few places by roads; it approaches at some points close

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to the great river, at others recedes, as in Cutch Gundava, more than a hundred miles.

These mountains, and their kindred ranges of Kojeh and Gilghie, with the elevated table lands belonging to them, form the countries of Affghanistan and Beloochistan; the former lying to the north, bordering the Punjaub and Cashemere; the latter lying to the south, bordering on Scinde.

This vast tract, including Seestan or Segistan, of the desert, formed the *second parallel* of nations opposed to the frontier of British India; it is bounded on the south by the ocean; on the north by that continuation of the Indian Caucasus, known as the Hindoo Khosh and the Parapomisan range, as far as the city of Herat, which is the western door of Affghanistan opening into Persia. Westward, with exception of the Herat corner, it is bounded by deserts.

From Herat a great spine of mountains runs to the Caspian Sea, dividing Toorkmania from Khorassan proper and Persia. The former, lying north of this spine, is separated from Affghanistan by the Hindoo Khosh and the Parapomisus. It was in ancient days the Bactriana, Sogdiana, and Chorasmia of the Macedonians; it is now known as containing the districts of Koondooz, Balk, Bokhara, Samarcand, and Khiva, or Orgunjé, which borders on the Caspian and Aral seas. Toorkmania, Khorassan, and Persia, formed therefore, the *third parallel* of nations between the Indian frontier and the Russian base of operations.

Through Toorkmania flows the Oxus, running from the Hindoo Khosh to the Aral Sea; it is navigable from above Balk to its mouth, a distance

of more than 600 miles. And it is up the Oxus, through the barbarous nations of Toorkmania, over the snow-clad Hindoo Khosh, and across the rugged Affghan country that Russia must win her way, by force or policy, to meet a British army on the Indus. Or this route, or by Persia and Khorassan to Herat, she must move; for of her military colonies, planted in the countries ceded to her by China, north of the Himalayas, little account need be made, if indeed they exist. Her progress by Constantinople is another question, depending upon European diplomacy and European arms.

Such being the geographical relation of the countries of Central Asia with British India, the political relations and powers of those more immediately affected by the recent wars shall be now touched upon.

The population of the Punjaub, said to be nearly four millions, consists of Seiks, Hindoos, and other people also to be found in Scinde, Affghanistan, and Beloochistan. The first are the ruling race though not the most numerous; they are athletic, warlike, and turbulent, having a peculiar religion and a holy book called the "*Grinth.*" Of recent date is their power. A few years ago the Punjaub was under the shadow of the Dooranee empire, but Runjeet Sing, having combined the many republican communities of the Seiks into one conquering state, wrested Cashemere and the Peshawar district from Affghanistan; and he took the fortress of Attock on the Indus, which has ever been and probably ever will be, the door of entrance to India for armies coming from the West. He also extended his power over Moultan, including the tributary dominions of the Bawal-Khan, lying be-

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tween the Sutledge and the Indus. He organized a regular force of 25,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 150 guns, the whole under European officers; and to these he added 50,000 irregular horsemen. He manufactured his own arms and materials of war, and his revenue being large, his power was not to be overlooked or lightly dealt with. Successive Governors-General sought his friendship in person. At first he disliked the alliance, but sagacious to perceive that the amity of the mighty strangers of Hindostan, interested though it might be, was less formidable than their enmity, he, contrary to the wishes of his nobles, accepted political engagements and maintained them until his death.

Proceeding southward Scinde would be the next country to treat of; but the affairs of that portion of the *first parallel.* must be more curiously inquired into, and their connection with those of Affghanistan, Beloochistan, and Doodpoutra shewn. Wherefore the state of these nations demands previous notice.

Doodpoutra, governed by the Bawal-Khan, Bawalpore being the capital, lies on the left of the Sutledge, between the British stations on the upper part of that river and Scinde. The Bawal-Khan's dominions extended at one time across the Sutledge and the Acessines to the Upper Indus, but he was a tributary of the Dooranee monarch. Runjeet Sing demanded the same tribute, and on failure of payment, seized the territory between the rivers. The Ameers of Scinde also took from the Bawal-Khan a large district on the left bank of the Lower Indus. Thus pressed, he readily accepted the protection of the British, by which his dominions were guaranteed against further encroach-

ments; and he has ever been faithful to his engagements. CHAP. II.

The origin of the Affghan or Dooranee empire is of recent date. Ahmed Shah, the founder, was of the Sudoyzie family, sacred in the Dooranee tribe of Western Affghan. Taking advantage of the temporary ascendency of the Dooranees over the Giljhies, with whom power had before resided, he constituted, in the middle of last century, one conquering nation of Affghans in place of the ill-cemented confederacy of republican tribes, clans, and families which previously existed. Ahmed was not a mere eastern swordsman. A great commander, a statesman, and politician, he warred successfully against Persia, subdued Khorassan as far as Meschid in the west; reduced Balk and the neighbouring Uzbecks beyond the Hindoo-Khosh, and awed Bokhara; he overrun the Punjaub, acquired Cashemere, occupied Surhind, took Delhi and Agra, and overthrew the Marhattas. Moultan, Daadpoutra, and Scinde, were his tributaries; Beeloochistan and Seestan of the desert were parts of his kingdom.

Ahmed Shah died, in 1773, sixty-six years before the British invasion of Affghanistan, and was succeeded by his son Timour Shah, who was succeeded by his son Zeman Shah, still living, old, blind, and an exile.

Zeman Shah repeatedly menaced India, but each time Persian warfare or civil commotion stopped his invasion, and he was finally dethroned and blinded by his brother Mahmood, who was in turn dethroned but not blinded, by another brother, Shah Sooja-ool-moolk, so well known by the English invasion of Affghanistan.

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Futteh Khan, chief of the great Barrukzie family of the Dooranee tribe, restored Mahmood, but governed under the title of Vizier. Kamran, the son of Mahmood, persuaded his father to put out the Vizier's eyes, whereupon the brothers of the blinded man took up arms; and then the barbarous Princes caused the helpless, but stern and courageous old Vizier, to be deliberately hacked to pieces in the Dhurbar. The ungrateful King and his son, were, however, soon driven in flight to Herat, where Mahmood died and Kamran retained the government of the city and province.

Shah Sooja was now recalled from exile, for it appears that only from the small but sacred family of the Sudoyzies could a king be chosen. But on the journey he displayed so much arrogance towards one of the powerful Barrukzies, who had recalled him, that, taking timely warning, they at once raised his brother Eyoob to the throne. Sooja, whose highest merit seems to have been forbearing to put out his dethroned brother's eyes, being thus again set aside, Azeem Khan, the eldest surviving brother of Futteh Khan, became Vizier and governed in Eyoob's name. But he soon died of grief for the loss of a battle against Runjeet Sing; civil commotions followed; and finally Eyoob and his son became exiles and the great Dooranee empire was broken up.

During these civil wars, the Persians recovered Khorassan and menaced Herat.

The King of Bokhara appropriated Balk, and the neighbouring Uzbecks resumed their independence.

Cashemere, Peshawar, the Punjaub, Moultan, and part of Doodpoutra, became the prey of Runjeet Sing.

The British conquered Tippoo Sultan, overthrew the Marhattas, added Delhi and Sirhind to their Empire, and established themselves on the upper Sutledge, at Loodiana.

The Bawal-Khan now ceased to be a tributary of Cabool. Merab Khan, the Brahooe-Belooch Prince of Khelat and Seestan of the Indus, assumed independent sovereignty, and allied himself with the Ameers of Scinde, who, not only neglected to pay tribute, but seized a part of Affghanistan on the right of the Indus. The hill tribes of Beloochistan resumed their democratic independence; and the Affghans, averse to kingly rule from natural feelings customs and original organization, split into four great divisions, holding together as a nation only by their common religion and language.

Prince Kamran held Herat, where, in 1837-8, he was besieged for a year by the Persians, at the instigation of Russian agents.

The brothers of the two Viziers, Futteh and Azeem Khan, appropriated the rest of the kingdom. One seized Candahar, city and province; another took Peshawar, paying tribute to Runjeet Sing; a third brother, the celebrated Dost Mohamed, became chief of Cabool, and his rule extended beyond the Hindoo Khosh on the north, to Herat on the west, to Jellallabad on the east, and to Ghusni, including that town, on the south.

The Affghan population, reckoning the Persian Kuzzlebashes and other settlers, has been stated at more than five millions; and the Belooch population at one million. Dost Mahomed maintained nine thousand cavalry, two thousand infantry, and fourteen guns; the Candahar man, nine thou-

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sand cavalry and six guns; the Peshawar chief, three thousand men, with six guns; but these numbers did not represent the force of the country; every chief had his own followers, every tribe and clan were armed and warlike.

The state of the countries bordering on Scinde, when Lord Auckland undertook the miserable Affghan war, being thus shewn, the course of Scindian affairs can be traced without interruption and a better understanding, from the first commercial connection to the final conquest.

Scinde, the Sindomana of the ancients, was formerly peopled by the Mhurs and Dhurs, now called Sindees, a strong handsome race. Pagans at first, they were conquered and converted by the Mahomedans of Damascus in the seventh or eighth century. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Kalloras, military fanatics from Persia, obtained the rule; and though Ahmed Shah quickly subjected them, he suffered the family to retain hereditary power under the title of Meahs.

In 1771, the Belooch tribe of the Talpoorees, which, with others of their race, had come from the hills to settle on the plains of Scinde, possessed great influence; they held all the principal offices of state, and they were the soldiers of the country. The Kallora prince, jealous of this power, put the chief of the Talpoorees to death; the tribe dethroned him and set up his nephew; but the son of the murdered Talpoor, returning from Mecca in 1778, renewed the quarrel and killed the new Meah in battle: his brother replaced him, and peace was restored for a time. Soon, however, the Meah murdered the new Talpoor chief, fresh commotions ensued, and, after many assassinations and crimes on all sides, the Kallora prince was driven

away. He took refuge with the Prince of Khelat, renewed the war, and being aided by the Affghan monarch Timour, who claimed a sovereign's right to settle the matter, he was finally restored on certain conditions. These he broke, and murdered the Talpoor chief who had replaced his first victim; this time, however, the tribe killed him in battle, and drove his son an exile to the Punjaub, where he still lives.

If the Kalloras were bad princes, the Talpoorees have been worse. The first of them, though confirmed in his sovereignty by the Dooranee monarch, was forced to share the country with his brothers; and when he died in 1800, those brothers, known as the "*Char Yar*," again divided the power, but unequally, calling themselves the Ameers, or Lords of Scinde. From this division sprung the Kyrpoor Ameers, or Lords of Upper Scinde, and the Hyderabad Ameers, or Lords of Lower Scinde, and the Meerpoor Ameer; from it also sprung the anomalous order of succession, which gave the Rais Puggree or turban of superior rule, in each family, to the brother instead of the son. Nevertheless, the Hyderabad family were in some degree obeyed by the others.

The brother Ameers soon called down more of the hill Beloochees, giving them land on military tenure, and with this aid enlarged their dominions, on the side of Cutch at the expense of the Rajah of Joudpore, from whom they took Omercote in the desert and Parkur, and thus came into contact with the British-India frontier. On the west they took from the Belooch chief of Lus, *Kurrachee*, the best bunder, or port, of Scinde. On the north-east they robbed the Bawal-Khan, of Subzulcote and

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Bhoong Bharra on the Indus. To the north-west they spread at the expense of the Affghans; from whom they took Shikarpoor and the fortress of Bukkur, which, standing on a rock in the middle of the Indus, completely commands the navigation.

The first Ameers and their sons, whose recent fall has been so inordinately and ostentatiously lamented by factious writers and pretended philanthropists, who think cruelty for the lucre of gain a virtue, and dealing death in defence of country a crime; by such philosophers, and by disappointed peculators in expectancy, and by political dupes, they have been proclaimed as innocent victims; but these heavily bemoaned lords were themselves usurpers of yesterday; for many are alive, and notably Roostum of Kyrpoor, who were engaged in the dethronement of the Kalloras. Rapacious invaders of their neighbours also, they were, and their Scindee subjects they afflicted with every kind of misery. These last call the events which changed their rulers, the "*massacre of the Meahs.*" The Beloochees call it the "*Conquest.*" They have another conquest now to reckon from!

For the Belooch, it was indeed a conquest, resembling that of the Norman in England when Harold fell; for each chief was lord of the soil, holding it by military tenure, yet in this differing from his Norman prototype, that the Ameers could, and often did, deprive him of his Jagheere or grant from caprice. This precarious tenure stimulated his innate rapacity; and the Belooch is by nature grasping, and habitually an oppressor. He is a fatalist from religion, and therefore without remorse; an overbearing soldier without fear, and a strong-handed robber without shame, because to rob has

ever been the custom of his race. Athletic, and skilled in the use of his weapons, for to the sword only, not the plough, his hand clutches, "he is known," says his conqueror, "by his slow rolling gait, his fierce aspect, his heavy sword and broad shield, by his dagger and matchlock. Labour he despises, but loves his neighbour's purse." It was, however, only the Scindee and the Hindoo that he could plunder, for his own race of the hills were like himself in disposition, and somewhat more robust. He was, moreover, a turbulent subject, and often, chief and follower, menaced the Ameers, and always strived to sow dissensions, knowing well that in the time of commotion plunder would be rife and pay high.

The system of government was one leading inevitably and rapidly to self-destruction; and it would seem as if the Ameers had the instinct of this truth; for they secured their persons by numerous slaves, being in the traffic of human beings, both exporters and importers, chiefly of Abyssinian blacks, whom they attached to their interests by manifold favours; and these men, called *Siddees*, (Seedees,) served them with equal courage and devotion: to all others they were brutal tyrants, cruel and debauched. Their stupid selfish policy was to injure agriculture, to check commerce, to oppress the working man, and to accumulate riches for their own sensual pleasures. "What are the people to us," was the foul expression of Noor Mohamed to Lieut. Eastwick. "Poor or rich! what do we care, if they pay us our revenue;—give us our hunting grounds and our enjoyments, that is all we require." The most fertile districts were made a wilderness to form their "*shikargahs*," or hunting grounds. Their

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Zenanas were filled with young girls torn from their friends, and treated when in the hareem with revolting barbarity. In fine, the life of an Ameer was one of gross pleasures, for which the labour and blood of men were remorsely exacted,—the honour and happiness of women savagely sacrificed! These things shall be proved to the letter hereafter; but it is fitting now to shew how the British power came to bear on Scindian affairs.

A commercial intercourse with Scinde was established in 1775 under the Kallora prince, by the formation of a factory at Tatta, then a wealthy town. Fiscal vexations and civil commotions caused it to be abandoned in 1792, but in 1799 Lord Wellesley made an effort to restore it. The influence of Tippoo Sultan and the jealousy of native traders, aided by a cabal at Hyderabad averse to the British connection, overcame the favourable inclination of the Talpoor prince who then reigned, and Mr. Crowe, the superintendant of the factory, was peremptorily ordered to quit the country in 1800. This insult was not resented, and in 1809, a fear of Napoleon's policy having caused British missions to be sent to Cabool, Persia, and Scinde, the brother Ameers, who had now succeeded the first Talpoor prince, displayed great arrogance. They assented to a treaty indeed, but the terms were brief even to contempt. Commencing with the customary falsehood of "eternal friendship," it provided for mutual intercourse by vakeels or envoys, and the Ameers promised to exclude the French. No more.

This treaty was renewed in 1820, with additional articles excluding Americans also, and settling

some border disputes on the side of Cutch; for the British frontier now touched on Scinde. It required, however, an army of demonstration to enforce the execution of the last article, which shews the faithless habits of the Ameers; for to exclude French and Americans, of whom they knew nothing and whose presence they did not desire, was a mere form; but as the border disputes affected their interests, an army was necessary to enforce the treaty.

Up to this period the measures of the Anglo-Indian Government to establish political and commercial relations with Scinde, appear little more than the results of that feeling which urges a civilized people to communicate with neighbouring barbarians; but soon the inevitable concomitant of such an intercourse, a disposition to profit from superior knowledge and power, became perceptible; and it is important to trace its progress and effects, if we would know *when* it broke the bonds of justice and true policy, which are inseparable, if justice be rightly considered as an all-pervading principle applicable to the human being generally, and not restricted to the usurped rights, or supposed rights, of evil governors.

An enlightened desire to ascertain the commercial capabilities of the Indus, induced Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Indian Board of Control, to employ the late Sir Alexander Burnes to explore that river in 1831, under pretence of conveying presents to Runjeet Sing. He succeeded with great difficulty, and the Indus became known; and this important step was soon followed by more direct measures; but it is remarkable that the strong natural sense of two poor ignorant men

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should have led them separately to predict the ultimate consequences.

"*The mischief is done, you have seen our country,*" cried a rude Beloochee soldier when Burnes first entered the river.

"*Alas! Scinde is now gone, since the English have seen the river which is the high road to its conquest,*" was the prescient observation of a Syud near Tatta.

Twelve years afterwards these predictions were fulfilled!

In 1832, Lord W. Bentinck sent Colonel Pottinger to Scinde, to improve the intercourse by a new treaty, and to survey the course of the Lower Indus. The last object was effected by Lieutenant Del Hoste; and Colonel Pottinger negotiated a treaty of seven articles. At this time death had altered the government of Scinde. The lower country was governed by the Ameers of Hyderabad, the chief of whom was Ali Moorad, one of those who had forced the first Talpooree prince to share the spoil of the Kalloras. His brethren were dead, but their sons remained, having certain inheritances, and yielding to him only so much superiority as belonged to the Rais or presiding Ameer. This, however, gave him the right of negotiation, and possessions which went with the turban.

In Kyrpoor, the capital of Upper Scinde, Meer Roostum, the nephew of Ali, was *Rais*, with like advantages, and holding that government independently, though the superiority of the Hyderabad family was faintly acknowledged; hence double treaties were necessary; one with Ali, the other with Roostum. They did not differ in terms.

A free passage for travellers and merchants through Scinde was granted, and the use of the Indus for commercial pursuits; but no vessel of war was to float on that river, nor military stores to be conveyed by it.

No merchant was to settle in Scinde; and travellers and visitors were bound to have passports.

A tariff was to be proclaimed and no arbitrary dues or tolls exacted.

The old treaties were confirmed, and the friendly intercourse by vakeels enlarged.

The Ameers bound themselves to alter the tariff, if found too high; and also to put down, in concert with the Rajah of Joudpore, the robber borderers of Cutch.

This was the first treaty giving the Anglo-Indian Government positive and specific rights as to Scinde. It was obtained by negotiation free from menaces, and framed with a social and commercial policy tending to benefit the human race.

In 1834, another commercial treaty of five articles was negotiated. By this the tariff was fixed, and the amount of tolls on the Indus arranged. Colonel Pottinger was appointed political agent for Scinde, and he was to have a native commercial agent under him, to reside at the bunder or port of the Indus. For it was stipulated that only tolls should be demanded on the vessels going up or down the river, and that no duties should be taken for goods, unless any article were landed during transit, in which case it was to pay duty. But the main point of this treaty was the division of the money received for tolls. The Anglo-Indian Government at this time touched the Sutledge, and claimed a right in the navigation.

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of its waters to the sea, equally with the native government on the banks. Nor can this claim be deemed unjust. All governments are bound to procure by negotiation the utmost scope for the fair commerce of their people. It is an injury and injustice, if a nation, profiting from its geographical position, seals the navigation of a river to those above or below. But to profit from that position by reasonable tolls, is not more than to profit from climate or soil. Hence it was with a just policy this treaty provided, that tolls should be taken only at the mouths of the Indus, and the gross amount divided amongst the different governments having territory on the banks. These fluvial powers were the Ameers; the Bawal-Khan; the Maharajah; and the Anglo-Indian Government.

The high tolls, and the robber habits of the Belooch tribes on the upper Indus, rendered this treaty unavailing for trade; and the Ameers, jealous of any prying into their tyrannical government, soon drove the native agent away from the bunder. The coast, and the delta formed by the lower branches of the river, were however surveyed, and in 1835 the first steam-boat floated on the Indus. It was a private enterprise by a Mogul merchant of Bombay, named Aga Mohamed Rahim, and this was the only fruit of the negotiation.

Lasting and irrevocable friendship had been the heading of every treaty, yet constant jealousy and want of faith marked the conduct of the Ameers, and in 1836 the Anglo-Indian Government commenced a direct and peremptory interference with the affairs of Scinde; an interference not founded on commercial interests. The increasing influence of Russia in Central Asia, where her agents were

assiduously impressing an opinion of Russian greatness and strength, thus preparing the way, or at least seeming to prepare it for an invasion of India, gave alarm to Lord Auckland, who judged that to obtain an influence with and control over the Affghan people, would be the surest counteraction to the masked hostility of the Czar. The ruler of the Punjaub was too wary and too powerful to be coerced in furtherance of this plan; but the weakness of Scinde offered facilities not to be overlooked; and to increase and consolidate the British influence in that country was a necessary preliminary. This was certainly an approach to the abuse of superior power, but founded on the instinct of self-preservation, not the desire of aggrandizement, and so far legitimate, if the means employed involved no direct oppression. But where interest pressed, when did a powerful nation ever scrupulously regard the rights of a weak one? On this occasion the first proceedings were as externally fair and moderate as the attainment of the object would admit; and it is edifying to mark with what a plausible gentleness an act of relentless power may be enforced by diplomacy.

Runjeet Sing, long intent upon spoiling the Ameers, under pretext of chastising the Mazaarees, a predatory tribe nominally subject to Scinde, commenced hostilities in 1836, by seizing the town of Rohjan, and capturing a fort on the north-west frontier of upper Scinde, close to the Indus. From this point he menaced a regular invasion. Considering the great courage and barbaric skill of the Scindian Beloochees, it is by no means certain that he would have succeeded; and it is certain the Ameers neither desired nor asked for foreign aid

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against him: "We have vanquished the Seikh, and we will do so again," was the confident exclamation of the chief Ameer. But the Seik monarch, by a singular coincidence, demanded at this moment from the Anglo-Indian Government, a large supply of arms, to be sent to him up the Indus! that is to say, through the heart of the country he was going to invade!

This opportunity for meddling was eagerly seized by Lord Auckland. The Maharajah was reminded of an article in the Scindian treaty of 1821, by which the transit of military stores on the Indus was interdicted; and he was admonished not to trouble his neighbours the Ameers unjustly. The British political resident at Lahore was directed to employ every resource, short of menace, to

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deter Runjeet Sing from hostilities; and at the same time, Colonel Pottinger, who had hitherto remained in Cutch, was sent to Hyderabad to offer, what was designated a closer alliance with the Ameers. They were promised the protection of the Anglo-Indian Government against the Seiks, in consideration of which, it was hoped they would receive, and themselves pay, a British force to be stationed in their capital! And this force was actually assembled by the Bombay Government!

However, a doubt that mere professions of amity would induce the Ameers to let their dominions be thus taken possession of, caused Lord Auckland to modify this proposal.

Colonel Pottinger was empowered, if a demur occurred, to offer the mediation of the British instead of the close alliance; provided a political resident was admitted at Hyderabad, through whom all intercourse with Runjeet Sing was to be carried

on ; the British force deemed requisite to sustain the mediation, being to be only temporarily quartered in Scinde, yet at the expense of the Ameers.

Colonel Pottinger was also charged to negotiate for the surveying of the coast; the fixing of buoys and land-marks; the re-establishment of the native agents; the warehousing of goods, without payment of duties; the establishment of fairs in Scinde; the repression of the Mazaaree robbers; the clearing of jungle, that is to say, the invasion of the Ameers shikargahs or hunting grounds, to facilitate tracking up the Indus; finally, the appointment of a British superintendent-general. These negotiations provoked all the diplomatic subtilty of the Ameers; and as their mode of dealing in such affairs was always the same, the history of one will serve as a guide to all. But first, the anomalous nature of their sovereignty must be treated of, because it really influenced their policy and actions, while it also served as a cover for their hollowness.

When the first of the Talpoor sovereigns died, his brothers, designated as the "*Char Yar*," divided the country amongst themselves, but unequally; and they excluded his son Sobdar from power, though not from his private patrimony. Their names were Ghoolam, Moorad, and Kereem, of Hyderabad; Tharou of Meerpoor; Sorab of Kyrpoor. All were dead at this period.

Kereem died without issue. Ghoolam left one son, who was treated as Sobdar had been treated.

Moorad left two sons, called Noor Mohamed and Nusseer Khan, who were at this time the ruling Ameers of Hyderabad; Noor, because he was *Rais* and wore the Puggree or turban of superiority; Nusseer, because he governed Noor.

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Tharou left a son, Ali Morad, who succeeded to the Ameeree of Meerpoor; but he also died, and was succeeded by Shere Mohamed, the Ameer who fought the battle of Hyderabad, or Dubba.

In upper Scinde, Roostum, the eldest son of Sorab, was the *Rais* of the Ameers of Kyrpoor, but he had many brothers.

The superiority of the Hyderabad branch was faintly acknowledged, as I have before observed, by the families of Kyrpoor and Meerpoor; but, in all, the law of primogeniture was discarded. The brother, not the son, succeeded to the turban of the Rais; and with it went lands and revenue as well as dignity. This system evidently sprung from the original usurpation of the "*Char Yar*," and occasioned constant jealousies and disputes; for though the three seats of government were distinct, the different territories were in a manner dovetailed, and mixed in a strange and tangled fashion. Each member of the families was absolute in his own hereditary domains, having armed followers, purchased slaves, and the services of the hill tribes according to his means of payment; discord therefore prevailed, and fear was prevalent amongst high and low, and the labouring people were plundered and oppressed to a degree, says Sir Henry Pottinger, "*possibly unequalled in the world.*" Moreover, the chiefs of tribes and their followers, knowing well that in civil commotions pay would be high for military services, and plunder abundant, encouraged, and even at times forced the Princes into domestic wars.

Thus influenced, the policy of the Ameers could not fail to be tortuous and vacillating, even though their natural dispositions had been frank and

honest, which was not the case. Falsehood, cajolery, and delays, were their principal resources, and forgery was common with them. Shrewdly polite of manners, they invariably paid extravagant attentions to the British political agents. Entertainments and presents were proffered with prodigal liberality; flattery still more profusely; and, judging from the official correspondence published, they seem never to have failed in gaining the friendship of the different agents, and, not seldom, to have blinded them.

The chief Ameers would accept, with all appearance of joy and gratitude, any proposition, and would promise abundantly in return; but rarely did performance follow promise; and when it did, it was but in name, for constant evasions or direct violations of every article attended the conclusion of every treaty. If pressed, the chief Ameers would plead the difficulty, real or pretended, of obtaining the assent of the inferior Ameers; and always one of these last seems to have been designedly in opposition, playing the refractory part. Forged letters, false seals, secret forms of instruction, and correspondence differing from the public style, to lead or mislead the recipient of them; false assertions as to promises which never had been made by the opposite party; nefarious assumption of evil intended where all had been fair and honest; such were the means diligently, systematically, and not unskilfully employed by the Ameers at all times in their intercourse with the British political agents.

Colonel Pottinger reached Hyderabad in September, and in December told Lord Auckland that December.
his negotiation was successful; but he seems only

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to have pressed the modified scheme of mediation, and to obtain that, exceeded his powers in promising corresponding services; and, notwithstanding his report, no ratified treaty appears in evidence until a year and a half later, and then only in consequence of significant hints, that Runjeet Sing would be let loose, if not aided, to work his pleasure in Scinde. Now this ambitious Prince had frankly accepted the British mission, seeing that it was for his interest to do so; and his friendship for, and connection with the Anglo-Indian Government were notorious, having been recently cemented by a personal interview with the Governor-General; and his troops still occupied Rohjan in force, menacing Shikarpoor. Thus the ratified treaty of April 1838 was obtained. It contained but two articles, providing for the mediation of the Anglo-Indian Government and the permanent residence of a British political agent at Hyderabad. He was to have the right, however, of moving about at his pleasure, and to be attended by such an escort of Anglo-Indian troops as should be deemed by his own Government a suitable one. All this under pretence of a friendly interest in the affairs of Scinde!

Dec. 1836. Parliamentary papers relating to Scinde.

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This was the first open encroachment on the independence of the Ameers. It is impossible to mistake, or to deny the injustice. Analyse the negotiation. The Seik monarch menaced Scinde with invasion; the danger was imminent, and the Anglo-Indian Government seized that moment of fear and difficulty to offer protection, on condition of permanently occupying the capital with British troops to be paid by the Ameers! Was not this simply an impudent attempt to steal away their country? The

modified proposal to mediate which followed, was more subtil, not less immoral; the intent in both cases was profit, covered with a sickening declamation about friendship, justice, and love of peace. And Lord Auckland, while thus instructing his envoy, declared his conviction, arising from long experience, that Runjeet Sing would not act against the Ameers in opposition to the wishes of the British authorities. Hence, in the view of mediating, there was evidently no need to send, and none to ask for the admission of, troops into Scinde; and the threat of letting the Seik monarch loose was a consistent termination to such diplomacy.

This treaty, by which Lord Auckland placed a loaded shell in the palace of the Ameers to explode at his pleasure for their destruction, was, abstractedly, an unjust oppressive action. Was it also a wanton aggression? Great interests were at stake; even the question of self-preservation was involved, according to the views of the Anglo-Indian Government, and men can only act according to their lights. It is necessary, then, to examine whether that light was good,—whether the opinion was sagely formed by statesmen of reach and policy, or was the offspring of weak distempered minds, actuated, at once, by a groundless terror clouding the judgment, and by a vanity and shallow ambition, without sagacity or knowledge. If the intrigues of Russia, real or supposed, appeared to menace the stability of the British-Indian Empire, it was undoubtedly Lord Auckland's duty to counteract them; yet wisely and justly, under pain of this stigma,—that he degraded his country's reputation by his violence or his incapacity; for surely, public men may not with impunity undertake the

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government of millions, sport with their happiness and misery, mar or make their fortunes as chance may guide, with profound ignorance of principles, and a reckless contempt for details.

There were two modes by which Russia could attempt an invasion of India: one direct, with a regular army; the other, by influencing Persia and the other nations of Central Asia to pour their wild hordes upon Hindostan. The first had been done by Alexander the Great, and he was deified for the exploit. No man else has done the same; for the irruptions of Ghengis, Tamerlane, and Nadir, were the wars of Asiatic princes; and though Russia is half Asiatic of dominion, her regular armies are European of organization. To lead a great and conquering force to India from Europe after the manner of Alexander, requires an Alexander, who shall be at the head of troops prepared by previous discipline, and by political as well as military organization, to follow wherever he shall lead. He must be a man of a fierce genius, untameable will, and consummate knowledge of war, enjoying the confidence of his soldiers, and able to choose a proper conjuncture of affairs in Europe for his enterprise, for that also is necessary to success. But such a man, and so situated, would be more likely to march on Moscow than Delhi: the leader must therefore be a Czar, or the son of a Czar, and the adverse chances are thus immeasurably increased.

Russia wants a man. If she find him his views will hardly be turned eastward. Europe will have more to fear than India. But is Russia really to be feared in Europe? This is a question easier to ask than to answer. The profound falsehood of her

government,—her barbarous corruption,—her artificial pretensions,—the eye-glitter of her regular armies, shining only from the putresence of national feeling, would lead to the negative. Her surprising progress in acquisition of territory within the last hundred years, would lead to the affirmative. If we believe those writers who have described the ramifications of the one huge falsehood of pretension, which, they say, pervades Russia, her barbarity, using the word in its full signification, would appear more terrible than her strength. Nor can I question their accuracy, having, in 1815, when the reputation of the Russian troops was highest, detected the same falsehood of display without real strength. For, from the Imperial parades on the Boulevards of Paris, where, oiled bandaged and clothed to look like men whom British soldiers would be proud to charge on a field of battle, the Muscovite was admired, I followed him to his billet, where, stripped of his disguise, he appeared short of stature, squalid and meagre, his face rigid with misery shocking sight and feeling; a British soldier would have offered him bread rather than the bayonet.

Nevertheless, some innate expanding and dangerous strength, must belong to a nation, which, during long contests with the most warlike people of continental Europe, led by Frederick and Napoleon, has steadily advanced by arms and by policy, appropriating whole countries to herself, until her Cossacks may now encamp on her own territory, within a few marches of Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm, and Constantinople. Her regular armies may be bad, her fleets in the Baltic and the Black Sea may be worse; but they are there; and she can

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send half a million of wild horsemen, who, without pay, would invade Europe for the plunder, and, sustained by regular armies on the Russian frontier, would make such ravage as half a century could not repair. The chances of revolution have been spoken of as the remedy for the Muscovite power; but who can predict that revolution will not augment, rather than diminish, her warlike strength and ambition. Her policy is national, and it menaces freedom and happiness and civilization. Poland was the first error of Europe in respect to Russia; Circassia may be the second; Constantinople the last and the greatest.

To return to India. Was the man capable of invading the East known to Russia when Lord Auckland fell into such fear? Was the conjuncture of affairs in Europe favourable to the enterprise? Was there a suitable army ready? By what line was it to operate? Was it through Persia to Herat? or, starting from the Caspian, to march up the Oxus to the Hindoo Khosh? Was it to overrun Affghanistan, or win over that country by policy as a new base of operation, previous to crossing the Indus? Were the wild Toorkmans of Orgunjie, the more settled people of Bokhara, the fierce Uzbecks about Balk, to be conquered or gained over as friends? Were not these questions of weight in this matter? Could the solution of them leave a doubt, that a regular invasion of Hindostan by a Russian army was a chimera?

But Persia! Through Persia the tide of war might be poured! Yes! when Russia has broken that country down to a province, and that she had not done, and cannot do, while the gallant tribes of Circassia maintain their independence: it was in

the western not the eastern Caucasus, therefore, that the security of India was to be sought. Had Russia possessed a Macedonian Alexander, the policy of the Grecian Memnon would have been again effectual: for slow would have been that hero's progress if the wise Persian General had lived. There was provocation also for meddling with Circassian affairs, and modern Persia was as open to British as to Russian influence; and by the Persian Gulph she could be reached more easily than by Circassia. But the only effort made by the Whigs to conciliate the Shah, was a miserable abortive mission, stinted in presents with a ridiculous parsimony, which must have made Mr. Ellis, the able, clear-headed gentleman employed, ashamed of his task.

To combine, by an active astute policy, the nations of Central Asia against the British Empire in the East, remained for Russia; and Lord Auckland asserted that she was busily engaged therein, though secretly; that her agents were every where; that the Persians were besieging Herat with her assistance, at her instigation, and for her profit. How was this secret hostility to be wisely met? Surely by cultivating the good will of the high-spirited Affghans, the wild Toorkmans, the keen-witted Persians. To speak to their self-interests by commerce and by presents, to their sagacity by missions, and to trust to their instinct of self-preservation for the rest; this would have been an intelligible policy. The reverse appeared wisdom to Lord Auckland and his advisers; and his proceedings bore at once the stamps of incapacity and injustice. A restless vanity urged him to a gigantic enterprise of war without any knowledge of its guiding principles; and as he did not employ those

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who possessed the requisite knowledge, a direful calamity terminated his folly.

Affghanistan had just been broken down from a great and domineering state to a weak confederacy of democratic communities; and this new organization was in unison with the habits and feelings of the proud, warlike, independent, courageous, and strong-bodied people. Dost Mohamed, their principal chief, and the head of the most powerful family of the most powerful tribe, was comparatively an enlightened man, firm, vigorous, and well disposed towards British interests. Yet he, and his nation whose welfare could have been promoted and its good-will secured, it was resolved to invade, to coerce; and that in the manner of all others the most offensive to an energetic spirited chief and people. That is to say, forcing on them a native prince twice before driven from supreme power by the nation; thus combining the two most deadly of national offences and injuries, a foreign yoke and a hateful native monarch. Shah Sooja, the exiled king, chosen as the instrument for this occasion, was without talent, and vigorous only in cruelty; for his executions, his vengeance, are well known, his exploits in battle unknown. This man was thrust forward in the vain, the preposterous hope, that he, who had been unable to keep his throne when placed on it by his own countrymen, would now remain firm when restored by strangers offensive to the Affghans as invaders and oppressors; still more offensive as infidels: and, monstrous supposition! that he would reconstitute the kingdom in unity and strength, so as to form an efficient barrier for India towards the west!

What kind of policy was that which sought a

war in Central Asia, more than a thousand miles from England's true basis of power, the sea. Central Asia! Where from remotest times the people have been organized for irregular warfare, which the nature of their country and their own hardy wild habits and frugality render peculiarly appropriate. The military strength of England lies in her discipline; in her great resources of money and materials for war; in the strong knit massive organization of her troops; in her power of combining fleets and armies together. She, of all nations, is least calculated from her customs and morals, to meet irregular warfare on a great scale. Yet here we find Lord Auckland, provoking a collision with Russia on the steppes of Tartary, anxious, it would appear, for a trial of strength in Central Asia with a nation more powerful in irregular troops than all the rest of the world together: and preparing for that trial by an odious aggression which was sure to render all the barbarous nations inimical to England if not friendly to Russia.

This conception of the Anglo-Indian Government, applauded and urged on by the Whig government at home, this conception so nearly allied to madness, was executed with consistent absurdity. Shah Sooja was proclaimed king, and troops, commanded by British officers and paid from the Calcutta treasury, were called the King's National Army, though not an Affghan was in the ranks. And for this king, of Lord Auckland's making, all the lost rights of the Dooranee monarchy were claimed; that is to say, tribute and obedience from the nations formerly subject to it. To enforce those claims, and to place the king on the throne, a strong army was gathered with great stores on the

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upper Sutledge. But Cabool was to be reached, and between that city and the Sutledge was the Punjaub; and the Seik monarch was a wily, powerful man, and moreover a proclaimed friend and ally.

It would have been consistent with the claims of Shah Sooja, to have demanded from Runjeet Sing the restoration of the Dooranee provinces, which he had recently got possession of by force of arms; for in this he differed from the other powers who had broken from the Affghan monarchy; they merely asserted their independence, if exception be made for the small district in Cutch Gundava, seized by the Ameers of Scinde; but Runjeet conquered largely after establishing the Seik kingdom; and he was too fierce, too strong, too useful, to be roughly dealt with. It was safer to give to than to take from him; and, therefore, a tripartite treaty was concocted, as if it were a voluntary compact between equal and independent powers understanding their own interests and able to maintain them; the contracting parties being the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, the Anglo-Indian Government, and Shah Sooja!

Pretending to be a renewal of ancient engagements between Runjeet and the King, this treaty, offensive and defensive, of eighteen articles, bound Shah Sooja to relinquish his rights on Cashemere, Peshawar, Attock, and a number of smaller possessions, all ravished by Runjeet from the Dooranee monarchy. It bound him also, when re-established at Cabool, to make presents, and in various ways, practically to acknowledge the supremacy of the Maharajah, though they were styled in the treaty equals.

If the Shah called for the aid of Seik troops,

they were to share in the *plunder* of the great Barrukzie family, containing sixty thousand heads of the noblest houses of Affghanistan! This article at once impolitic, and shameful, was discreditable to civilization, and reduced Lord Auckland's negotiation to the level of barbarism.

The invasion of Affghanistan thus settled, military principles required that the shortest and most direct lines of operations should be adopted, and those were in the Punjaub. The Maharajah had just concluded a treaty most advantageous to himself at the expense of the King, who was under the influence of the Governor-General. It was but reasonable, therefore, that he should give in return a free passage through the ceded territory acquired by that treaty; that is to say, though Peshawar and the Kyber passes, which was the best route to Cabool. There was no reason, if he had faith in his British Allies, why the Punjaub should not be made the base of operations; the invading army should have assembled with all its stores, not on the upper Sutledge, but on the Indus and from thence have penetrated by the Kyber to Cabool, and by Deera Ishmael Khan, not a difficult route, to Ghusni and Candahar.

When a great point, as it is technically called, must be made in war, there are only two modes of effecting it recognized by military art. By the first, an army should march with all its military means, compact and strong, to bear down opposition, trusting to the genius of its leader to draw subsistence from the country where it is to halt. Such was Hannibal's invasion of Italy. Success depends upon sagacious calculation of power and resistance, moral and physical; in fine, upon the proportion

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which the vastness of the enterprise bears to the leader's genius. This is the highest effort of a general. The second mode is to trust the communications with the base of operations to allies, or to nations subjugated on the march, increasing the army by levies from those nations as it advances. Such was the Macedonian Alexander's method of approaching India. Now, there was no Hannibal to lead Lord Auckland's army; nor was there an army organized rightly for such an enterprise.

The more secure method of Alexander remained, and did not require his genius for the execution. Runjeet Sing was the ally to whom the communications of the army should have been entrusted; and to insure his fidelity, an army of reserve should have been assembled on the Sutledge. If he refused consent, his alliance was hollow; and, justice being set aside from the beginning, policy dictated the forcing him to acquiesce, or the subjugation of his kingdom, as a preliminary step to the invasion of Affghanistan. Not so did Lord Auckland reason. Disregarding military principles, of which he and his advisers seem to have been as profoundly ignorant as they were disdainful of equity in their policy, he resolved to perpetrate against the helpless Ameers of Scinde, in the form of aggression, that which he dared not even propose in the way of friendship to the powerful Maharajah.

With this view, articles were inserted in the Tripartite Treaty under which Runjeet accepted the British mediation for his dispute with Scinde; and the Shah, who had resigned without an equivalent his richest provinces to Runjeet, also agreed to relinquish his sovereign rights on Scinde, but on

condition of receiving the arrears of tribute. The object of all this machinery was to obtain a pretence for seizing so much of the Ameers' territory as would secure a line of operations against Affghanistan through Scinde. This line however was so defective, that military considerations alone should have stopped the invasion, if no better could be found. Now, by the Kyber passes the line would have been one of five hundred miles, reckoning from Loodiana to Cabool, but only of three hundred starting from Attock on the Indus, if the base had been there first established; and the line by Ishmael dera Khan and the Gomul pass, taking the Punjaub as a base, would have been only three hundred miles to Candahar, and two hundred to Ghusni.

But the line by Scinde, running from Loodiana to Roree on the Indus, crossing that great river and passing through Cutch Gundava, a country fatal from heat to European troops in summer, to penetrate by the terrific defiles of Bolan, through hostile warlike predatory tribes, to the sterile rugged highlands of Affghanistan where Sepoys could not live in winter, so intense is the cold; then passing by Candahar and Ghusni, fortresses of no mean repute, to reach Cabool, was not less than fifteen hundred miles; and exposed moreover to the operations of the incensed Ameers, the hostile Belooch tribes of the hills, the doubtful faith of Runjeet Sing and his discontented nobles. And with what object? To plunder and spoil the most powerful and popular family, of the most powerful tribe in a nation of five millions, whose fathers had within man's memory, conquered from Delhi to the Caspian, from the Oxus to the Ocean! To restore an

Tripartite Treaty, Article XI.

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unpopular monarch, to force him upon a people, democratic from feeling customs and institutions; poor, hardy, courageous, and despising the religion of the strangers who thus sought to thrust upon them this hateful Prince, bearing this recent stigma; that to recover his crown, he, false to the national honour and independence, had resigned a third of the tribes to their inveterate enemies the Seiks. Sir John Hobhouse, in one of those turgid speeches upon this enterprise, which shocked the common sense of England, affirmed that the Bolan pass was chosen because Shah Sooja's adherents were in that quarter. A puerile reason, but a proof that the King was not desired by the nation.

Under the weight of this policy, Affghanistan, that great military point, was to be made by a General of no repute as a commander, with troops for the most part physically unfitted to sustain the climate; with unsafe communications of enormous length; without moral or political resources opened to him; but marching straight forward in the wild hope that the King, a weak arrogant man, would not only reconstitute a great nation which had already fallen to pieces in his hands, but would form of it a bulwark for India against Persia and the other nations of Central Asia, those nations being egged on and supported by Russia! Surely the genius and military sagacity of the Duke of Wellington were not needed here, to predict "*that the troops would force their way through a wild disunited people, only to find the commencement of their difficulties.*"

The passage through Scinde and the Bolan pass nearly wrecked the army. It is said Lord Keane

lost many hundred soldiers and thousands of camp followers, and forty thousand camels, in that march: and that want of promptness and combination amongst the tribes alone enabled him to reach Candahar; that at Ghuzni, his progress would have terminated but for the engineer Thomson's ready genius, and the fiery courage of Colonel Dennie, who, breaking through the only weak part of the barbarian's defence, won a peerage for their General. Shah Sooja thus regained his throne, and fools gaped at him while the Affghan men of spirit pondered revenge. For a time success seemed to attend the unjust aggression, the brilliant ill-requited Dennie sustained it by his talents; but when he and the intrepid Sale marched to Jellallabad, error succeeded error, not unaccompanied by crime, with fearful rapidity, until an entire destruction of the invaders closed "*the tragic Harliquinade.*" The system of *making smart young men, who could speak Persian, political agents, and supposing them Generals and Statesmen, failed.* England lost an army by the experiment. Lord Auckland gained a new coronet. But clotted and stiff with the blood of British soldiers shed in an unjust war it must be uneasy to wear.

CHAPTER III.

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For the Affghan invasion the summary given in the foregoing chapter must suffice generally; but the peculiar negotiations connected with it, by which Scinde was inextricably entangled with the Anglo-Indian Government, shall now be developed, and the censures passed on Lord Auckland's policy justified by facts, undeniable as being extracted from the official correspondence laid before Parliament.

July.

His tripartite treaty bears date June, 1838. In July a copy was sent to Colonel Pottinger, preparatory to a new course of negotiation with the Ameers, to be modelled on that which led to the treaty of two Articles, concluded only two months before, in virtue of which he was now Political Agent for Scinde. This time, however, the project was more artfully conducted. Shah Sooja recognised as king, and a contracting person in the tripartite treaty, placed at the head of an army raised paid and officered by the Anglo-Indian Government, was thrust forward as an independent sovereign instead of the miserable tool he was. By the tripartite treaty he agreed to relinquish all claim to supremacy and tribute from Scinde, on condition of receiving a large sum of money, the amount to be determined under the mediation of the Anglo-Indian Government, which thus constituted itself umpire in an old quarrel, revived by

itself to suit its own projects, without the knowledge of the party most interested. But war is costly. The king's pretended national army was to be paid, the Ameers had treasure, and this plan, if it failed to reach their gold, would certainly lay the foundation of other demands more important. Colonel Pottinger's instructions, shamelessly explicit, were in substance as follows:—

Parliamentary Papers on Scinde, No. 9.

"Tell the Ameers, a crisis menacing British "India has arrived. The Western Powers have "combined to work evil. The Governor-General "has projected a counter-combination. He calls "on his friends for aid. The King has ancient "claims on Scinde; but he will accept money in "discharge of them, and makes the Governor-"General arbitrator of the amount. Great is the "benefit thus conferred on the Ameers. They will "gain undisturbed possession of their territory and "immunity from farther claims. Warm is the "Governor-General's friendship for the Ameers, "and in return he demands ostensible proof of "their attachment. The King will arrive at "Shikarpoor in November; he will be supported "by a British army. The Ameers must, therefore, "agree to pay him the money or abide the conse-"quences, one of which will be, to take military "possession of their town and district of Shikar-"poor. Meanwhile, the article of the former "treaty which forbids the transmission of military "stores up the Indus must be suspended." And yet, to maintain this article intact had been the very ground of the interference with Runjeet Sing in the former negotiation!

So far all was founded in love and friendship for the Ameers; but the Persians were besieging Herat,

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and, though no war had been declared, and England was by treaty bound not to interfere between Persia and the Affghans, the Persians were designated as opponents of the Governor-General's projects, and the Ameers were suspected of having formed engagements with them. If so, it was to be construed as an act of hostility, and a British army from Bombay would immediately enter their capital. Yet, if any inferior Ameer popular in Scinde, was inclined to side with the British, he was to be separately supported and advanced to power. The amount of the King's money claim was left undetermined, but it was significantly observed, "*the Ameers must be wealthy.*"

Now, the chief Ameer of Hyderabad, Noor Mohamed, had indeed written to the Persian, yet more, as Colonel Pottinger judged, from religious zeal than political views; for the Ameer was a "*Shea,*" or believer in Ali, as the Persians are; whereas Sobdar, the person contemplated by the instructions as likely to side with the British, was a "*Soonee,*" or believer in Omar. But there was a Persian agent hovering about Hyderabad, and there is little doubt that an intercourse unfriendly to British interests was maintained. Nor can this excite wonder. The previous negotiations of Colonel Pottinger had too plainly pointed out the ultimate object of Lord Auckland, to leave the Ameer in doubt of his fate from the friendship of the Governor-General. He had a right to look for support elsewhere.

Parliamentary papers on Scinde.

Colonel Pottinger, it might be designing a covert rebuke while he obeyed orders, assured Lord Auckland, "he would not fail to tell the Ameers, the day they connected themselves with any other

power than England would be the last of their independence, if not of their rule."—"Neither the ready power to crush and annihilate them, nor the will to call it into action, were wanting; if it appeared requisite, however remotely, for the safety or integrity of the Anglo-Indian empire or frontier." The disclosure of his instructions, was, however, to be delayed until the armies destined to support them approached Scinde. Meanwhile, the Ameers of Hyderabad obtained some knowledge of the tripartite treaty. Their indignation was naturally great, and their first thought was to resort to arms; but at this time they heard the Persians had failed in an assault on Herat with great loss, and being themselves embarrassed by a civil war with the Lugaree tribe, they dropped the design of fighting, and resorted to their favourite diplomacy of falsehood, flattery, menaces, and cajolery. And it is not to be supposed they had given no reasonable ground for complaint in respect of the commercial treaties; they had violated them systematically, with as little scruple as Lord Auckland now set aside the article forbidding the transit of military stores by the Indus.

The political resident foresaw, and warned his Government that many obstacles would arise; but doing so, he treated an argument advanced by the Ameers with such unfounded contempt, that it is scarcely possible not to suspect he was launching a sarcasm at his own Government.

"Sobdar and his party, will," said he, "probably "even go so far as to declare the demand for money "a breach of the late agreement, on the principle, "that, without our assistance, Shah Sooja had no "means to exact a rea from them; consequently,

Parliamentary Papers, No. 14.

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"the demand may be considered as our own. I "do not, by pointing out this argument, mean for "an instant to uphold its correctness, but it is one "just suited to the capacity and feelings of the in- "dividuals with whom I have to negotiate."

Aye! and to the capacity and feelings of every man capable of reasoning at all! And the Ameers did afterwards urge it with homely but irresistible force.

"*It is a joke,*" they exclaimed, "*to call it a "demand from the king. You have given him "bread for the last five-and-twenty years, and any "strength he has now or may have hereafter is from "you. The demand is yours!*"

Colonel Pottinger thus continued his observations.

"Had our present connection existed some years, "and our Resident thereby had time, by constant "kindly intercourse with the chiefs and people, to
August. "have removed the strong and universal impres- "sion that exists throughout Scinde, as to our "grasping policy, the case might have been widely "different; but I enter on my new duties with- "out any thing to offer, and with a proposal, that "will not only strengthen the above impressions "(*for many besides the Scindees will believe at the "onset that we are making a mere use of Shah Sooja's "name*), but revive a claim which has long been "esteemed obsolete."

Parliamentary Papers on Scinde. No. 15.

The letter addressed to the Persian Shah by Noor Mohamed, though treated lightly by Colonel Pottinger, was eagerly caught at by Lord Auckland. Designating it as a tender of allegiance, (a very strained construction, the hyperbolic compliments of the East considered) made when the

opposition of the British government to the Shah's designs was notorious, it implied hostility he said, and the Ameer had thus forfeited all friendly consideration: energetic measures must be adopted against him. But Meer Sobdar appeared still faithful; it might, therefore, be advisable to give him the turban of command, yet securing British supremacy. At this time a force of five thousand men was in readiness at Bombay to proceed to Scinde; and the Bengal army was coming down the Sutledge, to occupy Shikarpoor, contrary to former treaties, and without even the form of asking the Ameers' leave thus to occupy their territories. The case was therefore already decided, and Colonel Pottinger was empowered to employ the Bombay force to back his negotiations. Such a proceeding requires short comment. Springing from a predetermined plan to seize Scinde without scruple as to means, it would have been less shocking to good taste if profuse expressions of friendship and love of justice had been spared.

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The Ameers of lower Scinde were thus pressed, firstly, to extract money for the king's army because the treasury of Hyderabad was the richest; secondly, to plant a subsidiary force in the country with a view to future subjection of the whole; but at this moment Lord Auckland was more desirous to fasten on upper Scinde, because there the passage of the Indus was to be made by the Bengal army, and the line of communication for the Affghan invasion established. Wherefore Sir A. Burnes, then on a mission to the Belooch Prince of Khelat, was ordered to turn aside and negotiate a treaty with the Kyrpoor Ameers as he passed. A simple task. He was to demand money, and what was

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called, a loan of the rock and fortress of Bukkur, which, standing in the midst of the Indus, commanded the navigation. Here it was proposed to cast a bridge to enable the Bengal army to pass the river and unite with the King's army at Shikarpoor: and so little reserve was employed, that Sir A. Burnes was, if asked for a remuneration, to give an evasive answer. He had also charge to obtain stores and means of military transport, but he was to be subject to the controul of Pottinger, and to present himself rather as a confidential friend than a political agent.

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. No. 16.

Meanwhile the Ameers of Hyderabad, whose rule extended up the right bank of the Indus to Shikarpoor, far from assenting to the occupation of that place by the king, who intimated in general terms his design of going there, replied to him, in substance, thus:

"*The Beloochees are not pleased, you must not* "*come to Shikarpoor. The power of Dost Moha-* "*med is well known. The Shah of Persia is before* "*Herat; he is supported by the Russians: you* "*cannot come by Shikarpoor. If Runjeet Sing* "*and the British support you, there is a direct road* "*to Khorassan* (their name for Affghanistan) *from* "*Loodiana: go that way and we will assist you.*" This biting sarcasm on the strange mixture of fear, folly, and audacity, which had dictated the line of operation through Scinde, was deemed insolent, and Colonel Pottinger, now changing his opinion as to the nature of the Ameers' correspondence with the Persian, exclaimed against their duplicity, and advised the immediate employment of the troops at Bombay.

During these negotiations an under current of

complaint run strongly against the Scindian authorities for violations of the commercial treaties, which they were required to respect while the Governor-General unhesitatingly cast them aside. It is however remarkable, that even at this time, Ali Moorad, the younger brother of Roostum of Kyrpoor, he who has been so vilely slandered by the Indian press, remained firm to his engagements and punished the transgression of the commercial treaties.[9]

Shame being now laid aside, and occasion rife, Lord Auckland, pretending a virtuous indignation at the duplicity of the Ameers—their unwarrantable enmity and jealousy of the British! moved with pity also for the distracted state of their government, a state which his envoy was expressly instructed to foment, declared that five thousand troops should instantly seize Shikarpoor, and such other parts of Scinde as might be deemed eligible to facilitate the invasion of Affghanistan, and to give effect to the tripartite treaty. Not only the Ameers who were inimical to the British, but those who had disclosed any unwillingness to aid the invasion of the Affghans, with whom they had no quarrel, were to be displaced from power; and this violence was offered to independent governments, over which no rights had been established, save by treaties granted not sought for by them, and both in letter and spirit opposed to these aggressions! But to make amends, the Ameers were assured, that the seizure of their territories by a British army meaned nothing injurious to their interests! "*You are to die by my hands,*" said the executioner to the son of the Spanish Philip; "*You are to die! Struggle not! Your father orders it for your good.*"

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. No. 19-20.

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1838. October. Parliamentary Papers on Scinde, No. 23.

Colonel Pottinger, though acknowledging that the correspondence between the chief Ameer, Noor Mohamed, and the Persian, remained to be proved, was nevertheless disposed to bring the troops from Bombay to Scinde, to encourage informers against him; but the delicacy of his negotiation demanded caution; for the Ameers if driven to war could embarrass and retard the advance to Affghanistan; and meanwhile camels, grain, money, boats, and storehouses for the approaching armies, could be most easily got under the mask of friendship. Hence, he advised delay. But Lord Auckland, unwise even in his political dishonesty, urged him to immediate action. Thus pressed, the Ameers put in activity all the resources of their diplomacy; and when boasting, flattery, menaces, promises and evasions were exhausted, offered personal violence to the envoy, which failing to intimidate him, was followed by abject apologies. Then indeed, he judged further negotiation, unbacked by an army, useless; yet he recoiled from one demand. The Ameers had produced formal discharges of all claims by the king, written in Korans, duly signed and attested. How then could money be demanded for another relinquishment? But his scruples were quickly spared by an order, not to trouble himself with that part of the negotiation, which would be settled by others!

In one of the angry discussions, now becoming frequent with the Ameers, the latter declared that the armies coming down to Bukkur, should not cross the Indus there: "That," said the envoy, "depends not on you but on the Governor-General's orders." "They are not the decrees of the Almighty! they can and shall be altered," was the

reply of Noor Mohamed. But his struggles were vain, the iron screw was upon him, and each day a fresh turn taught him resistance and escape were alike impossible. And while the Hyderabad family were thus writhing in Pottinger's grasp, Sir Alexander Burnes' equally strong but more courtly hand, was upon the family of Kyrpoor; and it was now said that all the Ameers had designed to march on Candahar if the Persians had taken Herat. CHAP. III. 1838.

Roostum of Kyrpoor, being weaker than Noor Mohamed of Hyderabad, more exposed also to danger from the Seiks, from the advancing armies of the king, and from the Bengal Government; being also fooled with the hopes of complete independence if he quietly yielded Bukkur, was infinitely gentle and conciliating of intercourse with Burnes; though here also secret discontent was rife, and his brother Moobarick was openly opposed to any concessions. This conduct gained Roostum some applause, and his final independence was darkly hinted in the following exquisite specimen of Lord Auckland's diplomatic jargon:— Sept.

"*The favourable temper of that chief has been already noted; this feeling Captain Burnes has been instructed to cultivate, and, for its maintenance, in connection with the great importance of the temporary cession of Bukkur, I have informed Captain Burnes, that I am not unprepared to receive propositions for admitting the guaranteed independence of Kyrpoor as an additional arrangement, dependent to a certain degree on contingent events at Hyderabad.*" Parliamentary Papers on Scinde, No. 20.

But neither Roostum's submissive behaviour, nor prayers for forbearance, saved him from the humiliating assurance, that the sins of the Hyderabad family would be visited on him also, and that the advance October. Parliamentary Papers on Scinde. No. 35-6

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of the armies to Affghanistan would not free Scinde from British troops until the king was firmly fixed on his throne.

Earnestly then the Kyrpoor men proffered new treaties, and to cast themselves generally on the British protection; but this would have saved them from the peculiar protection designed for them, namely, isolation and loss of independence, in fine, entire obedience to the Anglo-Indian Government. Yet so unreserved did their desire to be received as friends appear to Sir Alexander Burnes, that, shrinking apparently from this rigour, he observed, "*With such an adherence, I am quite at a loss to know how we can either ask money or any favour of this family.*"

Nov. Colonel Pottinger, with more penetration, judged the Ameers of Kyrpoor to be equally false, and deceitful as their brethren of Hyderabad, and said so, whereupon Sir Alexander explained that he only meaned to say they were guided by interest at Kyrpoor, while fear would best succeed at Hyderabad, and thus "Scinde would be laid prostrate at the mercy of the Governor-General." This was indeed stripping Lord Auckland's policy of all disguise, a policy so painful, that both Burnes and Pottinger, at different periods, advised open war instead.

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. No. 61.

No. 69. Ib. No. 58.

About this time a new influence was employed. The Meah of the Kallora dynasty lived an exile in the Punjaub, and his claims were put forward by the British negotiators; but in vain; the Ameers still struggled, and Colonel Pottinger, apparently tired of the lengthened contest, advised Lord Auckland to relinquish diplomacy and demand Kurrachee, or a tribute, as a step to future supremacy,

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enforcing that demand with an army. Sir Alexander Burnes also, speaking of military measures against the Hyderabad princes, declared that "*nothing on the records of Indian history was more justifiable:*" a dreadful avowal for Anglo-Indian political morality. And now the king's force, and the troops from Bengal were descending the Sutledge; the Bombay army reached the mouths of the Indus; and though the negotiations were continued, the establishing of a subsidiary force in Scinde was resolved upon, and Colonel Pottinger even urged the seizure of all the country between the Hala mountains and the lower Indus, from above Tatta down to the sea! to give "*a compact territory, complete command of the river, and the only sea port;* and then, Sukkur and Bukkur being occupied by British troops on the upper Indus, *and British agents placed in Kyrpoor and Hyderabad,* British *supremacy would be as fully established in Scinde, as though it had been entirely subjugated.*"

1838. November.

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. No. 88.

Sir Alexander Burnes urged personal humiliation in addition to the subsidiary force, but strongly objected to the seizure of territory, as likely "*to tarnish the national honour throughout Asia. The Ameers, though rancorous and hostile in feeling, had been guilty of no act to justify such a measure. The intention to injure was not injury.*" But what honour was there to tarnish, if nothing in the records of Anglo-Indian history was more justifiable than the aggression now perpetrating on the Ameers by Lord Auckland? Shrinking, however, from Colonel Pottinger's proposal, the Governor-General, on the score of expediency, not that of morality, declared, he would not "*incur the jealousy and distrust of States hitherto friendly or neutral.*" Al-

Ib. 90.

PART I. luding doubtless to the powerful Runjeet, and to the Khelat prince, whose hostility would have endangered the march upon Affghanistan. He nevertheless persisted as to the subsidiary force; Sir John Keane had arrived with the Bombay army at Vikkur on the Indus, no leave asked, and the means of coercing the Ameers were therefore at hand.

1838. Dec. Those of Hyderabad, driven to the wall, assembled their warriors to fight, but distracted with fear and anger and conscious weakness, could take no firm resolution; and meanwhile the Kyrpoor chief, Roostum, after a sore mental struggle which led him even to contemplate suicide, gave up Bukkur, or, as he phrased it, "*the heart of his country*," at the same time admitting upper Scinde to be a British dependency.

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde, No. 105.

Roostum's treaty though consisting of ten articles is called the treaty of Nine Articles, and together with separate minor contracts for the inferior Ameers, bears date December 24th, yet it was not ratified until January 1839. Thus far the course of injustice was unchecked. But now some of the Affghan difficulties were beginning to disclose themselves, and Lord Auckland, dreading the embarrassments which the Ameers of lower Scinde could still create, abated for the moment his demands, but in secret only, and to Colonel Pottinger, who had now joined Sir J. Keane at Vikkur, leaving a sub-political agent at the residency of Hyderabad. Soon, however, Sir Henry Fane reached Roree with the Bengal army, and the king arrived at Shikarpoor, and these three armies made, simultaneously, hostile demonstrations. The king advanced towards Larkaana down the right bank of the Indus; the vanguard of the Bengal troops menaced Kyrpoor

1839. January.

Jan. 27th.

on the left bank of that river; Sir John Keane marched up against Hyderabad; and at the same period the reserve held in readiness at Bombay was ordered to embark for Scinde. CHAP. III. 1839.

The Ameers of the lower province, rendered furious by these menacing movements, immediately plundered the stores collected at Hyderabad for the supply of Keane's army, and chased Lieutenant Eastwick the sub-agent, whom they despised, with insults and threats from the residency.

To support this act, they put 20,000 Beloochees in motion against the Bombay army, and roused the whole country into a violent commotion. It was then discovered, that to trample on Scinde involved great political and military questions. The cry of war was every where heard; Kurrachee was forcibly taken possession of by the British, Hyderabad was menaced with utter destruction, and Sir John Keane, contemplating a battle, designated it as "*a pretty piece of practice for the army.*" The Ameers, weak debauched men, were awed by the fierce aspect of an advancing army eager to storm their capital; and, after having announced the horrid resolution to put their wives and children to death and then fight to the last, quailed at the muttering of the storm, and ere it broke on their heads signed a new treaty presented by Colonel Pottinger; but to obtain the indulgence of thus saving themselves, were forced to pay 200,000*l.*, half on the instant. February.

Dated February the 5th, this treaty bound the Ameers to receive a subsidiary force and contribute three lacs yearly for its support,—to answer for the good behaviour of the Beloochee chiefs,—to contract no engagement with foreign States, unknown to the Anglo-Indian Government, — to

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provide storeroom at Kurrachee for military supplies, — to abolish all tolls on the Indus—finally, to furnish an auxiliary force for the Affghan war if called upon to do so.

In return, the Anglo-British Government pledged itself not to meddle with the internal rule of the Ameers, either generally or in respect of their separate possessions, and to disregard complaints from their subjects; but reserved a right to interfere and mediate in quarrels between the different Ameers, and to put down refractory chiefs. It promised to protect Scinde from foreign aggression, and bound itself not to make engagements with external powers, affecting the Ameers' interests, without their concurrence, thus virtually admitting the injustice of the tripartite treaty though it was the basis of all their proceedings.

March. Scinde, Parliamentary Papers, No. 166.

This stringent document did not satisfy Lord Auckland. It granted too much. Kurrachee had been conquered during the negotiation, and he retained it, regardless of the treaty which was immediately altered and ratified without asking the Ameers' consent to the changes! They were commanded to accept it in its new form. The first document had been made in the names of the Hyderabad and Anglo-Indian Governments; but that implied a chief, and Lord Auckland's policy

April.

was to weaken by dividing. The altered treaty was therefore made quadruplicate, one for each Ameer, alike in all things save the payment of money, on which point Sobdar was favoured as a recompense for his amity during the negotiations. So also in the treaty with the Kyrpoor man, a distinction was made; but there the exception was to exact from Moobarick in expiation of his previous

enmity; thus a nice discrimination marked every step of the oppression. CHAP. III.

This amended treaty was, after many writhings, fastened round the Ameers' necks; and in conjunction with that imposed on Roostum of Kyrpoor became the text of the political obligations of the Scindian rulers; for Shere Mohamed, the Meerpoor man, subsequently sought to be admitted to the same terms as Sobdar. The efforts of the Ameers to ameliorate the pressure, continued until July, when they finally yielded; and it is characteristic of the negotiations, that no relaxation of the Kurrachee conquest was admitted by Lord Auckland, though Colonel Pottinger urged it strongly; stating that no act of hostility had been committed by the Ameers' officers at that point; they had fired indeed, but it was a signal-gun, unshotted, and that was made a pretext for destroying the fort with the guns of the Wellesley! 1839. July. Parliamentary Papers.

The affairs of Scinde being now brought to a remarkable epoch, it is fitting to give exactly the substance of those treaties which guided the intercourse between the Ameers and the British authorities, up to the period when the war which ended in the destruction of the former broke out.

First, in order of time, stands the treaty with the Kyrpoor Ameer Roostum.

Defensive and offensive, it engaged the British Government to protect the territory of Kyrpoor. Roostum his heirs and successors were to act in subordinate co-operation with the Anglo-Indian Government,—to acknowledge its supremacy,—to have no connection with any other chiefs or states nor to negotiate without the sanction of the British,—to commit no aggression on any one; and, if by

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accident any dispute arose, to submit it to the arbitration and award of the Indian Government. At the requisition of the Governor-General he was to furnish auxiliary troops according to his means, and to render every aid and assistance during the Affghan war; and he was bound to approve of all the defensive preparations which might be deemed fitting while the peace and security of the countries beyond the Indus should be threatened. In return, the Indian Government declared that it would not covet "a drain or a dam of Roostum's territory, nor his fortresses on this bank or that bank of the Indus." He and his successors were to be absolute and independent in their possessions as rulers, and no complaint by their subjects was to be listened to. He was to co-operate in all measures necessary to extend and facilitate the commerce and navigation of the Indus; and, finally, to secure amity and peace; resident ministers were to be accredited to and from each of the contracting powers; but the British Minister was to have the right of changing his abode at will, attended by an escort whose strength was to be determined by his own Government. A supplementary article gave the British a right in time of war to occupy the fortress of Bukkur, which was neither on the one bank nor on the other bank of the Indus, but in the middle of the stream commanding the navigation.

The Hyderabad quadruplicate treaty of Fourteen Articles was concluded with the Ameer Noor, his brother Nusseer, and his nephews Sobdar and Mohamed, but with each separately. Bearing date the 11th of March, 1839 it runs, as follows:—

1°. There was to be lasting friendship and unity of interest between the contracting parties.

2°. A British force, its strength determined by the Governor-General, was to be held in Scinde at Tatta or elsewhere.

3°. Noor, Nusseer, and Mohamed, were each to pay one lac of rupees yearly towards the cost of the subsidiary force. Sobdar was exempted from this tribute as a reward for previous friendship.

4°. The Ameers' territories were placed under British protection.

5°. The Ameers were to be absolute as rulers, each in his own possessions, and no complaint made by their subjects was to be listened to by the British.

6°. Disputes between independent Ameers were to be referred, with the sanction of the Governor-General, to the Resident for mediation.

7°. If the subjects, that is to say the chiefs of tribes of one Ameer were aggressive towards another Ameer, and the latter were unable to check them, the British Government if it thought fit might interfere with force.

8°. Negotiations with foreign states, unless with the sanction of the Indian Government, were forbidden to the Ameers.

9°. An auxiliary force was to be furnished when required for purposes of defence.

10°. The Timooree rupee, current in Scinde being of the same value as the Company's rupee, the latter was to pass as lawful money in that country; but if the British authorities coined Timooree rupees in Scinde a seignorage was to be paid to the Ameers; yet, not during the Affghan war.

11°. No tolls to be paid for trading boats passing up or down the Indus.

12°. Merchandise landed from such boats and

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sold was to pay the usual duties, excepting always those sold in a British camp or cantonment.

13°. Goods of all kinds brought to the mouth of the Indus were to be kept there at the owner's pleasure, until the best period for sending them up the river arrived; but if any were sold at the mouth or other parts, always excepting British camps or cantonments, they were to pay duty.

14°. The treaty to be binding on all succeeding Governors of India, and upon the Ameers and their successors for ever; and all former treaties, not rescinded by this were to remain in full force.

Noor Mohamed, convinced of the inexorable injustice of his oppressors, now sought to turn the general injury to his peculiar profit; and in that view secretly advised Colonel Pottinger to retain Kurrachee as a means of impressing the subordinate chiefs with the power of the British. In this he only anticipated Lord Auckland's resolution by a few days; but his real object was to pass himself off with the chiefs as a man favoured by the powerful British Government, and thus keep them submissive under his exactions. His friendly tone was, however, soon imitated by the other Ameers of Hyderabad; yet the grace with which they resigned themselves to their wrongs, did not save them from the cruel mockery of being asked by Colonel Pottinger, if they had "*the slightest cause to question British faith during the last six months.*" And the farther mortification of being told "*that henceforth they must consider Scinde to be, as it was in reality, a portion of Hindostan, in which the British were paramount, and entitled to act as they considered best and fittest for the general good of the whole Empire.*"

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. No. 161.

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"To this proof of "*moderation and disinterestedness,*" the humbled Ameers, bending in submission and fear, replied with helpless irony, "*That their eyes were opened. They had found it difficult to overcome the prejudice and apprehension of their tribes, who had always been led to think the only object of the British was to extend their dominion. Now they had been taught by experience English strength and good faith.*"

Having concluded this long course of negotiations, Colonel Pottinger thought "*the world would acknowledge that if the English-Indian Government's power was great, its good faith and forbearance was still more to be wondered at!*" And then "distinctly recorded his opinion, though anticipating no such event, *that if ever the British military strength was to be again exerted in Scinde, it must be carried to subjugating the country.*"

To accord the character of good faith and forbearance to these negotiations is impossible. Palliation of their immorality on the score of necessity is the utmost that can be asked, and that but faintly, by the most resolute partizans.

Can even that be justly conceded?

When Colonel Pottinger thought Lord Auckland must be "fatigued with the perusal of the barefaced falsehoods and unblushing assertions of firm and devoted friendship which Noor Mohamed persisted in," it was absolutely necessary to name that Ameer, lest a doubt should arise as to which power the words were applicable. For, was it not with reiterated assurances of warm friendship and deep interest that Lord Auckland gave the Ameers the right thus to address him.

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. No. 88.

You besought us to make treaties of amity and

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commerce. We did so, and you have broken them.

You asked for our alliance. We did not seek yours. We yielded to your solicitations, and you have used our kindness to our ruin.

You declared yourself, without our knowledge or desire, our protector against a man we did not fear; our mediator in a quarrel which did not concern you. In return for this meddling, which you termed a favour, you demanded permanent possession of our capital, military occupation of our country, and even payment for the cost of thus destroying our independence under the masks of friendship! mediation! protection!

You peremptorily demanded our aid to ruin Dost Mohamed, who was not our enemy; and our backwardness thus to damage, against justice and against the interest of our religion, him and his nation with whom we were at peace, you made a cause of deadly quarrel.

To mollify your wrath, we gave your armies a passage through our dominions contrary to the terms of our commercial treaties. In return, you have, with those armies, reduced us to a state of miserable dependance.

Can these undeniable facts be justified with reference to national honour? Can they be called forbearing, generous, moderate? Can they be justified on the ground of international law, of self-preservation;—on that necessity which sets all common rules aside? Can they even be justified by that necessity for aggrandizement which has been supposed inherent to the peculiar nature of the British position in the East?

Lord Auckland indeed said, the western powers

were combined to destroy British-India; hence the invasion of Affghanistan. Aggression on Scinde was an unavoidable contingency, and if it was pushed too far, the fault was with the Ameers; their feelings were hostile, their acts perfidious; they were insolent, obstinate, treacherous!

Let it be proved that the invasion of Affghanistan was an act of self-preservation, and the injustice towards Scinde will be palliated as an act of unavoidable policy, though the mode of doing it displayed such an absolute disregard of political decency. But it cannot be so proved. Founded on doubtful anticipations of danger, unjust in itself, ill judged, ill considered, it was commenced on false principles, political and military; it was executed with incredible absurdity, and terminated with a dreadful calamity which went nigh to shake in pieces that Indian empire it was designed to secure. It was not, therefore, an act founded on any real necessity of self-preservation, or the danger it was intended to obviate would have augmented on its failure; but no such danger has appeared. It was not, either, the result of any inherent force of circumstances beyond the ordinary controul of men. No extraordinary genius, no nice judgment, no far-reaching sagacity, were requisite to detect the fallacy of the conception, or the probable termination; yet the warning voice of England's great captain, whose words on such a subject should have had oracular weight, was not wanting, in hope to stay the mischief. The invasion of Affghanistan, examined in any light, appears therefore the monstrous offspring of vanity and ignorance, devoid of expediency and public morality; and if this, the principal action, was neither just nor

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necessary, the accessory action against Scinde was also an oppression indefensible even though it had presented less odious phases during its progress.

If the secret engagements of the Ameers with the Persians; if their confederation with the Affghan chiefs of Candahar; if their repeated violations of the commercial treaties; if their violent insulting conduct towards the British Resident; if their arrogance, their duplicity, their perfidious intentions, deserved chastisement, Lord Auckland should have so proclaimed the matter to the world; and, acting on the policy which prescribes a firm and jealous maintenance of national dignity, have declared war; first setting forth the Ameers' offences. He might then have been accused of a stern, unrelenting procedure, but not of a treacherous oppression. It would have been politic also on military considerations, to have first warred against Scinde; because a subdued enemy would have been less dangerous to the communications, than an ally incensed by injustice, and of unbroken strength.

Why, it may be asked, were the Ameers' territories fastened upon with such tenacity, to procure a long circuitous unsafe line of operations, when short and direct and safe lines were to be found in Runjeet Sing's dominions? That Prince had profited largely by the tripartite treaty; and of the spoil, anticipated from the plunder of the Barrukzies, he was also promised his share. It would therefore have been no injustice, no unreasonable demand, but the contrary, to have asked for a base of operations in his kingdom: and if he refused, the grounds of quarrel with him would have been more legitimate, and the result more profitable than that with the Ameers. Where then was

the instinct of self-preservation, when Runjeet Sing's lair was avoided to fall on the Ameers? The British strength was sufficient to overwhelm either or both together; but Runjeet Sing was wily, and powerful enough to give trouble; the Ameers were weak, despised, and supposed to be rich. Fear! and cupidity! these were the springs of action. *Sir Alexander Burnes had said their treasury contained twenty millions sterling.*—"*The Ameers may be supposed wealthy,*" was one of the earliest intimations given by Lord Auckland to his negotiator.

The armies now passed onwards to Affghanistan, the subsidiary force entered Scinde, and the political obligations of its rulers became totally changed. The original injustice remained in all its deformity, yet, being admitted by treaty without public protest or stroke in battle, became patent as the rule of policy, and new combinations involving great national interests were thus imposed on Lord Auckland's successor, demanding a different measure of right from that which should have governed the Anglo-Indian Government's intercourse previous to these treaties. For amongst the many evils attendant on national injustice not the least is the necessity of sustaining the wrong-doer's policy, thus implicating honest men in transactions the origin of which they cannot approve. Some abstract moralists hold indeed, that Governments stand in the same relation to each other that private persons do in a community; that as leaders and guides of nations, they should be governed by the same rules of morality as the leaders and guides of families. It would be well for the world were this practicable. But when private persons wrong each other they have a tribunal to

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controul them, and to enforce reparation; or they may voluntarily amend the wrong. Apply this to nations. Their tribunal is war. Every conquest, every treaty, places them on a new basis of intercourse. The first injustice remains a stigma on the government perpetrating it; but for the nation, for succeeding governments, new combinations are presented which may, and generally do, make it absolute for self-preservation, and therefore justifiable, not only to uphold but to extend what was at first to be condemned.

Scinde is a striking illustration of this truth. The Affghan war once kindled, that invasion once perpetrated, the safety of the troops engaged in it imperatively required that Scinde should continue to be occupied; that the treaties concluded with Lord Auckland should be loyally adhered to by the Ameers. Say the Affghan armies ought rather to have been withdrawn, and two scores of injustice wiped off together. Was it possible? If possible would it not have been imputed to fear, to weakness, to any thing but an abstract sense of justice. Nations, especially those of the East, are neither so pure nor so frank as to greet virtue in a state garb. Wrong they are ever ready to offer to others; wrong they ever expect; and when it fails to arrive, opportunity favourable, they despise the forbearance as a folly. To have abandoned Affghanistan ere victory had redeemed the character of British strength, would have been the signal for universal commotion if not of insurrection throughout India. The having abandoned it at all led to the Scindian war, which was an inevitable consequence of the flagitious folly of the first enterprise.

One alleviation for this otherwise unmitigated transgression against Scinde remains, and it is a great one. It was not perpetrated against a nation, but against the Ameers; not against a people, but their rulers, and they were bad, indescribably bad. Oppressors themselves, they were oppressed by stronger power. Tyrants they were without pity or remorse; without pity their fall should be recorded. Their people gained as they lost; the honour of England suffered, yet humanity profited; the British camps and stations offered asylums to thousands who would otherwise have led a life of misery. But this palliation, this solace to the mind, amidst so much to condemn, was not foreseen, it was incidental; it cannot be pleaded by Lord Auckland; his treaties expressly resigned the people to the cruelty of their rulers.

The invasion of Affghanistan presents no such redeeming accompaniment. It was undertaken to place a proud tyrant on the throne; to force him on a people who detested him; and being conducted without ability terminated in disaster so dire, as to fill the mind with horror; enforcing what cannot be too often repeated, that incapacity and vanity are, in great enterprises of war, tantamount to wickedness.

Colonel Pottinger, created a baronet, continued Resident in Scinde until the beginning of 1840. He was then replaced in the lower country by Major Outram, having been previously relieved in the upper country by Mr. Ross Bell. His negotiations offer some points of character worth noting. His natural feelings of justice, breaking out at the sight of Shah Sooja's receipts for a debt which he was again demanding at the head of an

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army; his reprobation of the attack on the fort of Kurrachee by the *Wellesley*; his aversion to profit by that violence, and his frequent, earnest, exhortations to treat the people with gentleness and fair dealing; contrast strongly with the general oppressive march of the negotiation he was charged to conduct, and with the hearty bluntness, by which he overwhelmed the unhappy Ameers, and as it were smothered them, with praises of Lord Auckland's loyalty and forbearance.

His vehement declarations of the good faith and moderation of political acts which the most subtil sophistry cannot palliate, much less justify; the deference he inculcated for the tyrannical pleasures of the Ameers whose real rights he had by his treaties just taken away, are somewhat curious specimens of reasoning. Speaking of their "*Shikargahs*" or hunting preserves, which he acknowledged they had formed by turning, within a few years, one fourth of the fertile and peopled land into a wilderness; and they were still marching onwards in that devastating career, one of them having recently destroyed two large villages to form a future "*Shikargah*" for his child, then only eight years old; and the whole of them declared that their hunting grounds were dearer to them than their wives and children; he yet desired, that they might be respected, because the ancient forest laws of the Normans in England were equally pernicious! And while thus recurring to the worst, the most cruel oppression of the worst periods of English history as a guide for British policy in the nineteenth century, and an excuse for the Ameers of Scinde; with singular inconsistency he recommended a conciliating and protecting policy towards the people!

Parliamentary Papers on Scinde. No. 174.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAP. IV.

1839.

THE mutations of the Affghan war, the hostility of the Brahooe Beloochs and other hill tribes under the Prince of Khelat, nourished the discontent of the Ameers with hopes of redress, and encouraged them to form secret plans, and set intrigues on foot against the supremacy of the British. But soon internal dissensions, and the death of the Brahooe Prince, Merab, who was killed at the storming of Khelat by General Wiltshire, on that officer's return from Cabool to reinforce the subsidiary army in Scinde, prevented the adoption of any decided plan in 1839. But in 1840, when the Brahooes rose in arms for the son of Merab, and defeated several British detachments; when the Murrees and Booghtees on the north-western quarter beyond Scinde, were driven by British injustice to insurrection; when Runjeet Sing, his son, and grandson, had all died in quick succession and the Punjaub was in commotion; then the Ameers became unquiet and thus spoke in their secret councils.

1840.

"It is good to combine with other powers because the British Government is surrounded by enemies; because it fears insurrection in India, and is lax in its rule over neighbouring states; but it is difficult, because its rule is rigid in Scinde, and we are divided and quarrelling. If we could all unite it would be well."

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. No. 248.

At the time these councils were held, Dost

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Mohamed was returning to Affghanistan at the head of the Usbeg army; and many reverses had been suffered by detachments in the Belooch and Brahooe hills. The general aspect of affairs was therefore very menacing; but Shere Mohamed of Meerpoor was at enmity with the Ameers of Hyderabad about their boundary line; and he was anxious to have a treaty with the British on the same terms as Sobdar, who was his fast friend. In upper Scinde, Moobarick had died, and disputes arose about his possessions. Union was impossible; and very soon Colonel Dennie won the battle of Bamean; the Dost surrendered; it became known that a Russian expedition against Khiva had totally failed; reinforcements entered Scinde, and a considerable British division was gathered on the upper Sutledge, watching the Punjaub. In this state of affairs the Ameers seeing ten thousand men at their palace-gate trembled and avoided open offence.

Noor Mohamed died towards the end of the year, his last act being to claim the British protection for his brother Nusseer and his youngest son Hoossein, against the machinations of his eldest son Shadad, a man incredibly brutal and wicked. He protested also in his last moments that his friendship and alliance with the English, since the treaty, had been sincere. This declaration was certainly the first legitimate ratification of the treaty, and the other Ameers confirmed it soon after his death by seeking the arbitration of the Governor-General on the boundary dispute with Shere Mohamed: slight acknowledgment indeed of its value to them, but giving somewhat of a lawful character to the contract, Shere Mohamed's desire to have

a treaty would have added weight to this consideration, if it had been frankly met; but the Anglo-Indian Government and its agent, Major Outram, true to the spoliating policy of the first negotiations, rendered that which might have borne the grace of a voluntary contract on one side, and a favour on the other, a rapacious injustice.

Shere Mohamed desired to be treated as Sobdar had been, but it was resolved to make him pay for the alliance; and when he, seeing he could not escape the imposition, sought to lessen the sum by undervaluing his possessions, it was called a crime! Hitherto he had enjoyed a nominal independence; now Major Outram, while admitting that possession and right were with Mohamed in the boundary dispute, recommended that a fixed tribute should be demanded from him by the British Government, under pain of letting the Hyderabad Ameers loose with this intimation, that if he proved too strong the British would aid them, and then his losses would not be confined to the disputed territory! And this expressly to lower his opinion of his own importance! This compendious negotiation produced immediate acquiescence, and was called able diplomacy. Shere Mohamed paid fifty thousand rupees yearly for the favour of British protection; the arbitration then went on, and at the same time the chiefs of tribes were secured in their feudal possessions.

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. Nos. 286—293.

Every governing power having now in turn offered voluntary homage to British supremacy, by accepting favours under the treaties, and demanding protection against a native opponent, the legal force of those treaties increased, and they had lasted two years; hence, as they also furnished

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1840. asylums in the British stations to oppressed multitudes, they acquired by degrees, that secondary moral force which belongs to utility irrespective of abstract justice. But the Ameers, apparently submissive, sought to evade their tribute, and Lord

1841. Auckland, thinking cession of territory more sure and profitable, coveted Shikarpoor. This the largest city of Scinde, though decayed under the tyranny of the Ameers, promised with better government to recover its former importance, and it was advantageously placed on the line of communication with Affghanistan.

The Ameers assented to the cession in discharge of tribute, and this gave the British three permanent military stations in upper Scinde; namely, Sukkur, Bukkur, and Shikarpoor; the first, having an entrenched camp, was on the right bank of the Indus; the second was on a rock in the middle of that river; the third was about twenty miles to the north-west of Sukkur, on the high road to the Bolan pass. In lower Scinde they held Kurrachee, the only good port, and thus the Ameers' candle was burning at both ends.

About the middle of 1841, died Mr. Ross Bell. He had been political agent, governing upper Scinde and Beloochistan with unbounded power; but under his sway, many insurrections had occurred amongst the tribes of Booghtees and Murrees, occasioned, it is said, by his grinding oppression, accompanied with acts of particular and of general treachery, followed by military execution, bloody and desolating, involving whole districts in ruin. He was in constant dispute with the military officers, and he has been described as a man of vigorous talent, resolute, unhesitating,

devoid of public morality, unscrupulous and vindictive; of domineering pride, and such luxurious pomp, that seven hundred camels, taken from the public service, were required to carry his personal baggage. That his conduct was neither wise nor just, seems a correct inference from the deplorable results of his administration; but Lord Auckland approved of it, and regretted his loss. The story of the camels is certainly an exaggerated statement, and the general charges have been principally promulgated by the *Bombay Times*, whose word, for praise or blame, is generally false, and always despicable. See Appendix to Chap. IV.

1841.

Mr. Bell's functions were transferred to Major Outram, who thus became political agent for the whole of Scinde and Beloochistan. Tranquillity in the latter country was immediately obtained by the cessation of oppression; Lord Auckland restored the son of Merab to his father's dignity and the Brahooes were content. This also allayed the excitement of the Ameers, who were connected by marriage with Merab's family; not that his misfortunes were deeply felt by them, but the termination of hostilities in Beloochistan released a large British force, which returned to Scinde or was at least free to act in that country.

1842.

This quietude continued until the calamity of Cabool, in the beginning of 1842, shook the reputation of British power throughout the neighbouring nations, disturbed all India, and excited the smouldering fire of revenge in the hearts of the Scindian Ameers. Nusseer Khan was now considered the head of that fraternity. Secret communications between him and Sawan Mull, the Seik chief of Mooltan, were detected by the po-

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litical agents. The suspicions thus awakened, were increased by other communications between the Ameer Roostum of Kyrpoor, and the Maharajah Shere Sing, now on the throne of the Punjaub, and falsely supposed to be less friendly to the British alliance than his predecessor Runjeet Sing. The Ameer's officers behaved vexatiously, a sure sign! Roostum also repelled remonstrance haughtily, and assumed an unusual tone of independence relative to the cession of Shikarpoor, for which no treaty had yet been executed, the delay being, however, with the British authorities. Major Outram accused the Ameers of mean shuffling; yet he directed his assistant, Mr. Postans, to give Roostum hopes of keeping Shikarpoor by the use of ambiguous language, such as would leave the Governor-General a right to reject or insist on the agreement according to the profit which it might promise.

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. Nos. 308-323.

But a new era was now commencing for Scinde. Lord Auckland quitted India, leaving it in all the confusion, the terror, and the danger, necessarily flowing from the political immorality and astounding incapacity which had marked his mischievous career. And if any man, free from vehement factious feelings and not blinded by party prejudices, shall doubt the correctness of the picture of whig oppression and folly painted in the foregoing pages, let him read and compare attentively, and with a desire to reach the truth, all the Parliamentary papers on the subject, and he will doubt no longer. Out of their own mouths they are condemned.

Lord Ellenborough arrived too late to prevent, but in time to remedy, the most dangerous evils

menacing India from his predecessor's impolicy, which he denounced in a vigorous proclamation designed as a warning to future governors. The beacon burned bright, but the flame spread too wide and scorched many, whose cries have never ceased, though few men, not personally interested, regard them. Previous to his coming, the ship was rocking in the shallows, but when his strong hand was felt she ceased to strike the sands, and, answering to the helm, was steered into deep water. Nevertheless, the very men whose political iniquity had then brought India to the verge of ruin, are now, with incredible effrontery, imputing all their own crimes and absurdities to him, and most especially in what relates to Scinde: wherefore it is fitting to state exactly his share of the subsequent transactions in that country, and leave judgment to the common sense of mankind.

He found the public mind confused with terror by the Cabool catastrophe, the surrender of Ghusni, the blockade of Candahar, and the seeming inability of General Pollock to relieve Jellallabad. Colonel England, was, soon afterwards, defeated by an inferior force at Hykulzie, and fell back to Quettah, leaving General Nott, as it was supposed, to certain destruction.

He found the finances embarrassed, the civil and political services infested with men greedy of gain, gorged with insolence, disdaining work, and intimately connected with the infamous press of India, which they supplied with official secrets, receiving in return shameful and shameless support; for, thus combining, they thought to controul the Governor-General, and turn the resources of the State to their sordid profit.

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He found the military depressed in spirit, and deprived of their just allowances; the hard working soldier oppressed, the idle vapourer encouraged; discipline attainted; and the military correspondents of the newspapers, assuming, falsely it is to be hoped, the title of officers, constantly proclaiming sentiments cowardly and selfish, without an indication of honour or patriotism.

Lord Ellenborough, amidst these difficulties, steered the course becoming a brave man, conscious of danger and of his own resources to meet it. His first effort was to stay the spreading mischief of fear on one side and rising hopes on the other, by a manifesto of his views, in which a vigorous determination was apparent. This proclamation of silence! as it were, suspended the general confusion, and gave time to combine military operations to redeem the character of the British arms, and to teach the exulting nations on his frontier, that England's strength was not to be safely measured by recent misfortunes. What though Lord Auckland's policy had been unjust, wicked, and foolish towards those nations! Was Lord Ellenborough, in the very crisis of evil and danger, nicely to weigh the oppressions of his predecessor; and, setting aside all the combinations flowing from that predecessor's diplomacy, all the mischief springing from his unwise military enterprises, was he who had undertaken to save the Indian empire to bend before victorious barbarians, to deprecate their wrath, to cheer them in their dreadful career by acknowledging their anger to be legitimate? Was he to encourage their revengeful passions, to foment the hopes of neighbouring powers eager for war, by a show of humility which could only appear

to them weakness? The safety of the Anglo-Indian empire was at stake, and the obligation of securing it was a necessity paramount to all other considerations. Was England to be trampled on because Lord Auckland had been silly and unjust?

Lord Ellenborough saw clearly and struck boldly. But how widely different was his mode from that of Lord Auckland! as widely different as their achievements. Look at Scinde! There the one invariably covered rapacity with professions of friendship, a velvet glove on an iron hand. With Lord Ellenborough the tongue spake no deceit, and the hand was bared at once in all its sinewy strength, a warning to keep men from provoking its deadly stroke. Let the world compare Colonel Pottinger's instructions from Lord Auckland with the following from Lord Ellenborough to Major Outram; remembering always that the former had no international right of meddling with the Ameers, whereas the latter stood on treaties acknowledged and acted on for three years—that the first was instigated by rapacity ministering to an insane aggressive policy; the second stimulated by the lofty ambition of saving India from ruin.

"*The Governor-General is led to think you may*
"*have seen reason to doubt the fidelity of one or more*
"*of the Ameers of Scinde. He therefore forwards*
"*three similar letters to be addressed according to cir-*
"*cumstances, and at your discretion, to those of the*
"*Ameers whom you may have ground for suspecting*
"*of hostile designs against the British Government.*
"*And you will distinctly understand, that the threat*
"*contained is no idle threat intended only to alarm, but*
"*a declaration of the Governor-General's fixed deter-*
"*mination to punish, cost what it may, the first chief*

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"who shall prove faithless, by the confiscation of his "dominions. But there must be clear proof of such "faithlessness, and it must not be provoked by the con- "duct of British agents, producing in the minds of any "chief, a belief that the British Government entertains "designs inconsistent with its interests and honour."

Nor were his letters to the Ameers less explicit and honourable. Referring them first to his general manifesto addressed to all the Eastern nations, it run thus :—

"While I am resolved to respect treaties myself, "and to exercise the power with which I am intrusted, "for the general good of the subjects of the British "Government, and of the several States of India, I "am equally resolved to make others respect the en- "gagements into which they have entered, and to exer- "cise their power without injury to their neighbours." "I should be most reluctant to believe that you had "deviated from the course which is dictated by your "engagements; I will confide in your fidelity, and in "your friendship, until I have proof of your faithless- "ness and of your hostility in my hands: but be "assured, if I should obtain such proofs, no consider- "ation shall induce me to permit you to exercise any "longer a power you will have abused. On the day "on which you shall be faithless to the British Govern- "ment sovereignty will have passed from you; your "dominions will be given to others, and in your desti- "tution all India will see that the British Government "will not pardon an injury received from one it be- "lieved to be its friend."

This frank resolute declaration, which was the guide and rule of his conduct in commencing the Scindian war, and by which its justice and policy must be measured, is not to be taken in a political

sense alone. Commercial interests affecting the whole civilized world were also at stake. The Indus had by the several treaties with the Ameers and Runjeet Sing, been made the high road of nations; those treaties preceding the political engagements had been freely conceded, and were just in themselves, and obtained by just means with a beneficent object: they were for the interest of mankind at large, and were not abrogated by the political treaties, save in the one point of not transmitting military stores by the Indus. But Lord Ellenborough's singleness of purpose was evinced in several ways. Major Outram at this period told him that "he had it in his power to expose the hostile intrigues of the Ameers to such an extent as might be deemed sufficient to authorize the dictation of any terms to those chiefs, or any measure necessary to place British power on a secure footing;" and he advised the assuming the entire management of the Shikarpoor and Sukkur districts to render British power over the Indus invulnerable. This was quite in the aggressive spirit of Lord Auckland's policy, which never appears to have been distasteful to Major Outram until Lord Ellenborough deprived him of his situation, but then the Ameers seemed suddenly to rise in his estimation. It was not, however, in the spirit of that nobleman's instructions, which, far from aiming to take advantage of past misdeeds, gave warning for the future only, and expressed a desire to believe the Ameers faithful, offering them a new intercourse on well understood grounds.

But the great operations to restore the British military reputation in Affghanistan, previous to the total abandonment of that country, were now

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in full progress. Jellallabad had been succoured, and the armies of Nott and Pollock were directed by a combined movement on Cabool. The Governor-General's hands were thus freed from the military fetters fastened on them by Lord Auckland, and he instantly employed them in choking off the civil and political leeches who were sucking the public. He broke the connection between official men and newspaper editors, and, defying the blatant fury of the latter and the secret enmity of the former, drove the unclean people from the administration. He restored the drooping spirit of the army by a vigorous protection of its honour and interests; and he put to flight the political agents and their assistants, who, numerous as locusts, had settled on the countries beyond the Indus: their number equalled that of the whole of the salaried officers employed for the diplomacy of all Europe! Their vanity, uncontrolled power, their pomp and incapacity had contributed more than all other things to the recent misfortunes.

Indian newspapers.

Wild was the uproar these reforms occasioned. All the rage of faction broke loose. No calumny that sordid falsehood could invent, or cowardly anger dictate, was spared: and when malice was at fault folly stepped in with such charges as, that *the Governor-General's state harness was of red leather! he wore gold lace on his pantaloons!* But while such matters were dwelt upon, the incessant activity, the assiduity, the energy, the magnanimity of the man were overlooked. The moral courage and fortitude, which could, in the midst of disaster and abasement of public spirit, at once direct the armies to victory and purify the administration, which could raise

and confide in the military honour, opposing and defying the vituperation of the Indian press, re-echoed by the scarcely more scrupulous press of England; these great and generous qualities were overlooked or sneered at, as well as the complete success they procured for the country. But newspapers are not history, and Lord Ellenborough's well-earned reputation, as an able and victorious, and honest Governor-General, will outlive faction and its falsehoods, and its malignant press.

Major Outram withheld the Governor-General's warning letter to the Ameers, lest, as he said, fear should drive them and the chiefs of tribes to extremities, all being alike conscious of treasonable designs. This view of the matter was approved of by Lord Ellenborough, and it was a convincing proof that his object was tranquillity, not subjugation; but he seems to have committed an error, inasmuch as he should have been careful to keep his own manly policy clear of the crooked paths of his predecessor's. To declare oblivion for the past, to look only to the future, acting on a necessity which he found existing to bind him, would have been an undeniable course. His error, however, was one adverse to violence and war, and this is confirmed by the tenor of his first dispatches.

"The recent engagements attendant on the restoration of the young Prince of Khelat, and the uncertain state of the war, imposed he said, the necessity of maintaining a strong position on the Indus in Scinde, and the power of acting on both sides of that river, consequently, the continued occupation of Kurrachee to communicate with Bombay, and the occupation of Bukkur and Sukkur to insure a passage over the Indus, were

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. No. 334.

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"requisite for safe intercourse with the British "stations on the Sutledge on one side, and with "the army at Candahar by the Bolan pass on the "other. The supporting of commerce by the Indus "was another great obligation; and as his desire "was to put an end, at any financial loss, to the sys- "tem of taking tribute for protection, he proposed "to exchange that to which the Ameers were liable "by their treaties, for permanent possession of "Kurrachee, Bukkur, and Sukkur. Protection was "in most cases as much the interest of the British "Government to afford, as it was the interest of the "protected state to receive; but however equable "in principle the bargain might be in practice, it "could not fail to affect amity, to raise disagreeable "discussions, and to make the British officers em- "ployed appear odious extortioners in the eyes of "the people, who were taxed to pay the tribute, "and oppressed by other exactions made under "pretence of that tribute. Territory, therefore, "he desired instead, or in place of territory, the "abolition of duties burthensome to commerce. "He was aware that, regard being had for the for- "mer treaties and the reciprocal obligation im- "posed by them, difficulties might arise, and much "time elapse before his object could be attained, "but this was to be the governing principle of his "policy."

Assuredly there was nothing oppressive or unjust in this view of affairs, nothing indicative of a grasping project. Roostum had already given his consent for the cession of Shikarpoor to Lord Auckland, who certainly contemplated as part of his invasion of Affghanistan the permanent occupation of Scinde, and no qualms of conscience then dis-

turbed the East Indian Directors, though they have since so strongly expressed their disapproval of the same thing, when done by Lord Ellenborough in a crisis which justified the act: it would thus appear that gross oppressive injustice is absolutely essential, in the minds of the statesmen and moralists of Leadenhall Street, to render an acquisition of territory palatable to them; or, that they are not really statesmen, but only grasping traders, and foolish prating persons, who would make the amount of their dividend or their personal anger the measure of their policy in governing a great empire. Lord Ellenborough passed over this consent of Roostum, and his proposed policy was not one-sided or selfish. The removal of points for collision with rulers, the protection of the oppressed people, and the raising of the English character in their eyes; finally, the general interests of commerce, with respect to the navigation of the Indus, and all to be sought by fair negotiation without menace, these were his ends, and they indicate no grasping ambition.

Meanwhile Major Outram, declaring with the warmth of a partisan, that he "*should not be sorry to afford Government grounds for making an example of Nusseer,*" diligently gathered all proofs, direct and indirect, of the hostile disposition of the Ameers, and grounded on them a proposal for a new treaty, observing, that they formed a body of evidence which gave Lord Ellenborough the right to dictate his own terms. They were undoubtedly numerous and strong.

Parliamentary Papers, Scinde.

1°. Intercepted letters, addressed by the Ameer Nusseer of Hyderabad, to the Mooltan chief; and by Roostum of Kyrpoor, to the Maharajah Shere Sing. These were designated as treasonable, by

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Major Outram, a term difficult to understand as applied to sovereign princes; but they were unquestionably in violation of the eighth article of the treaty of 1839, which forbad the Ameers to negotiate with foreign chiefs or states, unless sanctioned by the British Government: moreover the Mooltan man had collected a large force on the frontier of upper Scinde under false pretences.

2°. A secret confederation of the Brahooes and Beloochee tribes, known to, and encouraged by the Ameers with a view to a general revolt against the British supremacy whenever new reverses in Affghanistan, which were expected, should furnish a favourable opportunity. The names of the chiefs and the plan of revolt were obtained, and the rising was to be a religious one. "*The sword was to be drawn for Islam.*" It appeared that Colonel England's defeat at Hykulzie had greatly excited the hopes and confidence of the tribes, and every thing was ready for a general out-burst, when the relief of Jellallabad by General Pollock checked the movement.

3°. Nusseer of Hyderabad, and Roostum of Kyrpoor, formerly enemies, were then become fast friends, both being governed alike by one Futteh Mohamed Ghoree, the minister of Roostum, and well known as a man of talent, but intriguing, bigotted, and bitterly hating the British. Nusseer also, at this time, endeavoured by a false accusation to have Sobdar, who had always appeared friendly and loyal, made to pay tribute contrary to the treaty; this was in the view of forcing him by such injustice to join the general confederacy.

4°. Nusseer had, during the year before, proposed to the Seiks to drive the British from the

land as the Affghans had done, offering to assist them. CHAP. IV.

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5°. Lieutenant Gordon, employed to survey the lower country and the coast, discovered that several chiefs, owing no homage to the Ameers, had recently gone to Hyderabad with their followers, pretending fear of the Affghans; obstacles were raised to hinder the execution of his survey; throughout the lower country he found a decided hostile spirit amongst the Beloochees, and a native informed him that he was to be either driven from the country, where he overlooked their preparations, or killed. Moreover, the hill tribes and those of the plain were alike ready to attack the camp at Kurrachee, when any news of reverses in Affghanistan should arrive.

6°. Shere Mohamed of Meerpoor, had secret intercourse with the Seiks, and was confederate with the Mooltan man. Sobdar of Hyderabad, and Ali Moorad of Kyrpoor, were the only Ameers faithful to their engagements.

7°. The plan of the hostile Ameers, was to get possession of Bukkur; all the fighting would be, they said, in upper Scinde, and there the Kyrpoor troops were to attack Ali Moorad's villages if he did not join the confederacy; the British would of course interfere; then the Hyderabad troops would move up, and the whole force of Scinde unite to give battle.

9°. A Persian had come with secret messages from the Shah to Nusseer.

10°. There was backwardness in the payment of tribute, with a view to the intended outbreak; and tolls and duties were levied contrary to the treaties.

Major Outram, grounding his proposed treaty on these hostile demonstrations, recommended

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also the taking permanent possession of Shikarpoor, and the overthrow of Lord Auckland's policy with respect to the equality of the Ameers; arguing, very justly on this point, that each Ameer evaded responsibility, charging it on others; that the negotiations were necessarily complicate, and every petty dispute was referred to the British Government when it ought to be settled among themselves. His treaty, the preamble to which was worded offensively to the Ameers, involved the cession of Bukkur, the site of the ancient Sukkur and the entrenched cantonment there, in perpetuity; the cession of Kurrachee in perpetuity; free passage and communication for commerce between Kurrachee and the Indus at Tatta; the old articles against tolls, and the right to cut fuel for steam navigation on each side of the river to a certain extent. This was the first direct proposition for interfering with the Ameers "*Shikargahs*," for Pottinger's proposal was merely to cut a way for tracking. It gave them infinite offence; for they loved them better than their wives and children, better than their subjects' lives, better than their country's prosperity, better than the commerce of the world!

In return, he proposed to exonerate the Ameers from all arrears of debt, and from all future tribute; a boon amounting altogether to nearly half a million of rupees of annual tribute, and a million of arrears of debt.

It cannot be supposed the political agent and his assistants, English and natives, could be so wicked, or so deceived, as to urge the hostile and treacherous proceedings constituting these charges against the Ameers, without reason. It followed, therefore,

that positive violations of the treaties, and the preparations for a wide spread conspiracy to destroy the British troops in Scinde, gave Lord Ellenborough, as Major Outram said, the right to dictate new terms, calculated to secure the public interest from future danger of a like nature. Hence, had the grasping unprincipled policy which has been attributed to him, really influenced his proceedings, the opportunity was most favourable. The cause of offence clear and of major importance; the means at hand, for General England was now returning from Candahar, and a great army of reserve was assembling on the Sutledge.

And here it is fitting to notice the true objects of assembling that army of reserve, so ridiculed at the time by the Indian press. It is fitting to do so as throwing a light upon Lord Ellenborough's prudence; but more so, as shewing the infamous and dangerous nature of that Indian press, whose efforts have been for several years constantly directed to the support of peculation, the depression of the military spirit, the calumniating of every man of patriotic feeling and useful talent, and the inciting and teaching the foreign enemies of the Anglo-Indian Government how and when to assail the armies with the greatest advantage, even urging the Sepoys at times to mutiny. Let the people of England judge the following sample of their wanton iniquity, their mischief-making falsehood.

When Lord Ellenborough arrived in India, there were 30,000 Seik troops at Peshawar, and there were only 4000 British troops there, of whom 1800 were in hospital! The presence of these Seiks was a matter of great anxiety; and when

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5000 of them advanced, unasked and unwished for as auxiliaries to Jellallabad, Lord Ellenborough directed General Pollock, and through his agency succeeded, to persuade these half hostile, turbulent men, to pass to the left bank of the Cabool river, to leave all the resources of the right bank to the British, and to clear their rear as far as Peshawar. But now, when the army was returning from Cabool, 20,000 of these Seiks followed the troops, and the army of reserve was most prudently and wisely assembled on the Sutledge, to keep them in awe, and to support the authority of Shere Sing, who was friendly, against the power and wishes of most of his sirdars, and more especially against the Sindhawalla family, by whom he was afterwards assassinated. Dhian Sing, his minister, actually proposed to attack the British while traversing the Punjaub on their return from Cabool; and he proposed this, because he had been deluded by the infamous Indian press into the belief that the British meant to attack the Seiks! Shere Sing, however, relied on British faith; and supported by the presence of the army of reserve resisted successfully. He afterwards strongly represented to the foreign secretary, who visited him at Lahore after the armies had passed the Sutledge, the extreme embarrassment which the assertions of the Anglo-Indian press, that the English designed to attack him, had created in all his dealings with his own chiefs and army!

Far from shewing any avidity, Lord Ellenborough rejected Major Outram's counsel and treaty, and condemned the offensive tone of the preamble; he rejected also the cession of Shikarpoor; but, repeating his former determination to punish faithlessness,

intimated his desire to take from the delinquent Ameers the districts of Subzulcote and Bhoong Bharra, and restore them to the Bawal-Khan, from whom they had been, with force of arms, wrested only thirty years before by Roostum and the other Ameers of the day. Lord Ellenborough did not, however, pretend that he would interfere thus between the two powers on any principle of abstract justice, which would have been misapplied to overrule the especial justice of the case; nor yet on the principle of humanity, though the people ardently desired to return to their old master, who was humane and moderate while the Ameers were harsh and exacting, but simply in accordance with his avowed resolution to punish infidelity and reward fidelity. Even this he did not positively contemplate; he desired that the Ameers' minds should be left tranquil, and disclaimed any intention of making hasty changes in his political relations with them, hoping, no doubt, that the operations of Nott and Pollock, then in full activity, would, in conjunction with the presence of Colonel England's column, check any further disposition for hostility.

Fresh offences on the part of the Ameers soon dissipated this hope, and shewed the error of withholding the warning letters of the Governor-General to the Ameers. If they had failed to quell the angry spirit of the Ameers, they would have placed the British cause in a more dignified posture, and could scarcely, as Major Outram supposed, have hastened an outbreak, seeing the resolution of the Ameers was fixed to regain their independence; and their preparations to effect that object were steady, changing only as the mutations of the Affghan war gave them hopes or fears.

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The Booghtees and other tribes were at this period stirred up by one Mohamed Shurreef, a Syud of Scinde acting in conjunction with an Affghan named Mohamed Sadig. These men were so active that the tribes were on the point of breaking out in open warfare on the communications of the British with Candahar, when the seizure of Mohamed Shurreef by stratagem caused Sadig to fly, and, according to Major Outram, put an end to the project of war.

But the expectation of a general outbreak had so excited the Ameers of Hyderabad and Kyrpoor, that their arrogance burst the bonds of prudence. They interrupted the navigation of the Indus, caused boats of traffic to be fired upon, exacted duties contrary to treaty, and even ordered that all merchants and traders of Scinde who had built themselves houses, and established shops in the British cantonment of Kurrachee, should be punished by the destruction of their houses and the confiscation of their goods. This was a hostile and barbarous proceeding, for the British stations were crowded with persons flying from the tyranny of the Ameers, to whom the reviving commerce of the country was odious if protected from their exactions.

"We do not choose to let our subjects trade with "the British and the fifth article of the treaty of "1839 forbids the British Government to interfere "between us and our subjects."

This was their subtle plea, yet fallacious, because their prohibition was not a dispute between the Ameers and their subjects, but an act of hostility against the British, who were thus cut off and isolated as an infected people: indeed, the Ameers designated them as a "*pestilence in the land.*"

The capture of Mohamed Shurreef, and the flight of Sadig the Affghan, checked the hopes of the Scindian Princes for a moment, but they were again excited by Nott's advance from Candahar; they judged it a forced abandonment of that important city; and though he afterwards destroyed Ghuzni, and in conjunction with Pollock ruined Istalif and Cabool, the apparently hurried retreat from Affghanistan which followed, bore for these misjudging people the character of a flight. It was viewed as a proof of weakness, and Beloochs and Brahooes became more hopeful and more confident than before. The Ameers of upper and lower Scinde consulted together, how best to league against the Feringhees; Seik vakeels were at Kyrpoor, ready to start for Lahore loaded with presents for the Maharajah; and at the same time letters came from the victorious Affghans, reminding the Ameers that they were feudatories of the Dooranee Empire, and exhorting them to act boldly in the common cause.

These things led to the Ameers' final destruction, they were the forerunners of the battle by which they fell; but their primary cause, it has been shewn, was deeper seated. The Scindian war was no isolated event. "*It was the tail of the Affghan storm.*"

The capture of Mohamed Shurreef was the last act of Major Outram in his capacity of Political Agent. He had offended Lord Ellenborough by pertinaciously urging upon him, contrary to prudence and to reason, his own views and opinions; it was offensive and he was dismissed. Sir Charles Napier, a better man for war or policy and of a surer judgment in what constitutes greatness, was

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then desired to take the entire charge of Scinde and its troubled affairs. The clamour of many tongues has been raised against Lord Ellenborough for this summary dismissal, as if a man of incredible genius and unmatched services had been foully driven from a sphere of utility where he alone could guide events to a happy ending. Major Outram has, himself, publicly intimated that his political efforts in Scinde were remarkable in themselves, and productive of the most beneficial results; and that his removal was productive of deplorable consequences. But no facts have been made known to bear out this opinion. No indications of great ability are to be found in his official correspondence. Neither Lord Ellenborough nor Sir Charles Napier were able to detect the mark of this superior genius, which seems to have its birth and resting place in the columns of a despicable Indian newspaper. It is true that Sir Charles Napier, influenced by a generous warmth of temper, and admiring the daring courage and activity of an able partisan such as Major Outram is universally admitted to be, offered a glowing compliment to him at a public dinner given when he quitted Scinde the first time. It is true also, that, giving him credit for greater ability than he found him on trial to possess, Sir Charles obtained permission from Lord Ellenborough to recall him to active political service in Scinde. But these were only the measure of the General's liberal feelings, not of Major Outram's talents; they were impulses which have not been responded to generously.

Vide his letter to Major-General W. Napier. Sun Newspaper.

Buist's Bombay Times.

CHAPTER V.

CHAP. V.

1842. Sept.

At Sukkur Sir Charles Napier found the following instructions, reiterating Lord Ellenborough's unchanged resolutions.

"Should any Ameer, or chief, with whom we "have a treaty of alliance and friendship, have "evinced hostile designs against us, during the "late events, which may have induced them to "doubt the continuance of our power, it is the "present intention of the Governor-General to in- "flict upon the treachery of such ally and friend "so signal a punishment as shall effectually deter "others from similar conduct; but the Governor- "General would not proceed in this course without "the most complete and convincing evidence of "guilt in the person accused."

"The Governor-General relies entirely on your "sense of justice, and is convinced that whatever "reports you may make upon the subject, after full "investigation, will be such as he may safely act "upon."

This dispatch, written in September, four months after the warning letter to the Ameers, and after receiving Major Outram's reports of their hostile proceedings and temper with his opinion that the Governor-General might dictate any terms, shews how entirely averse Lord Ellenborough was

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to hasty or violent procedure against the rulers of Scinde; and if necessity forced him to be stern in maintenance of actual engagements, his desire was to forward by peaceful means a mutually beneficial intercourse; his ultimate object being, as he said in another place, "the establishment of unrestricted trade between all the countries of the Indus the Sea and the Himalayas."

But he thus threw the moral responsibility of any action, to which he might be provoked by his General's report, upon the latter, and not unreasonably. Deep, therefore, is the feeling of truth with which the proofs of that General's unsullied honour and humanity are now recorded; for he went not to work shackled and bound as a mere executive officer, he had a wide discretion, and an awful charge upon his conscience from a confiding superior, to do what was right and just according to the light afforded him. Whether he responded to that charge with a worthy spirit, or betrayed it with sordid and sanguinary feeling, as writers, infamous in their calumnies, have dared to insinuate—let mankind decide here upon the facts; and the Deity he invoked aloud, from the midst of the dead after the battle, to judge his motives, will decide hereafter!

It has been been shewn how, in the height and flow of their splendid flattery at Hyderabad, Sir Charles Napier warned the Ameers that it would thenceforth be unsafe for them to break their engagements; for he knew of their infractions of the treaty at Kurrachee, and frankly told them such things should not be—they must abate their pride or meet the Governor-General's displeasure. The offences he specified were, the levying of duties at

the bunder or port, on goods going to the British cantonment; of tolls on the river, and the hostile measure of isolating the British station by driving their subjects from the bazaar. The first was a violation of the XII and XIII articles of the treaty of 1839. The second an infraction of the XI article. The last was a breach of the I article, of the preamble, and of the whole spirit of the treaty, which professed amity and free intercourse; but it was of deep interest, for the people fled in crowds from the Ameer's tyranny to take refuge in the British camps.

The Ameers relied for their justification on the V article, which forbad the British Government to listen to complaints from Scindian subjects, or to interfere in their disputes with the rulers; but the General met the subterfuge, by declaring that the complaint came from the British authorities, not from the subjects of the Ameers; and he complained of it as an act of enmity.

To this argument they could not reply; but with respect to the tolls they drew a nice distinction. It was true, tolls were not to be levied, but that applied only to foreigners—not to their own subjects. And when the words of the article, precise, positive, and making no such distinction, were shewn to them, they answered, we did not understand it so, or we should have opposed an article depriving us of revenue without any explanation. Moreover, they had in practice levied such tolls without hindrance up to 1840, and though Major Outram then opposed the practice, he advocated the Ameers' view of the matter with Lord Auckland, in opposition to Colonel Pottinger who made the treaty, and had, through his native

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agent, and through his assistants, Lieutenants Leckie and Eastlake, positively denied this right to them, and insisted on the text of the treaty being the guide. Mr. Ross Bell also had denied the Ameers' interpretation.

Major Outram discovered that the native agent had intercepted the communications of Colonel Pottinger and of his political assistants on this subject, and therefore pertinaciously urged an adoption of the Ameers' views, supporting his arguments with Benjamin Franklin's authority, to the effect "*that no objects of trade warranted the spilling of blood,—that commerce is to be extended by the cheapness and goodness of commodities,—that the profit of no trade could equal the expence of compelling it by fleets and armies.*"

Very sound maxims, but most curiously misapplied; for here was no attempt to force commerce—it was a question of duties under existing treaties. Franklin's meaning is, that nations cannot be forced to trade profitably nor to abandon trade against their will, and that to attempt it is wicked and foolish. Here it was not the people who were to be coerced, it was four or five ignorant barbarous despots, who sought to prevent their people from trading. The dicta of the great American, therefore, was specifically opposed to Major Outram's application.

But the most notable circumstance attending this dispute, was the glaring inutility of the political agents and their assistants generally. These functionaries, so largely paid, so numerous, their diplomatic ability so lauded, their knowledge of the Eastern people, their skill, so sure in negotiation as if it were some occult matter, some masonic

secret, some talisman which the initiated only could use with effect, were here deceived, baffled, laughed at, by their own native agent and by the barbarian Ameers; and that not once, or for a moment, but for a year, and in respect to an important precise article of a treaty negotiated by one of them, and the execution of which affected the whole commerce of the Indus—the main object of their diplomatic care; at the end of three years this vital point was still a subject of dispute at a most critical period. To write long letters in self-praise, to describe the dress of one prince, the compliments of another, the feasts of a third—to be the hero of a newspaper—to have an establishment of innumerable clerks and servants, to employ hundreds of camels for personal baggage, to let the real business of the state slip from your hands, and then call for an army to pick it up! This is to be a political agent—this is to "*know the people!*"

Lord Ellenborough was more than justified in his sweeping reform. And it was a conviction that the loose mode of intercourse hitherto carried on with the Ameers had led to mischief, and was derogatory to such a powerful government as the Anglo-Indian, which induced Sir Charles Napier at once to assume a frank though stern tone, with these Scindian rulers. For well he knew, that however much modes and customs may differ with nations, man is intrinsically the same all over the world, and to be governed by his passions. He held it shameful, and wicked, to tempt the Ameers by any appearance of infirmity of purpose, to display their arrogance when the Governor-General had assured him the sword of vengeance would be inexorably bared for the first fault. They had,

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however, already been tempted, by an unsteady diplomacy acting on proud minds, into a course full of danger for them, and he was to make a true and faithful report of their misdeeds. This he effected twelve days after his arrival at Sukkur, shewing a list of offences more or less grave, but the whole proving a settled design for war, when opportunity offered. Supported by evidence, as good as could be obtained where the secret machinations of princes, who had the power and the will to destroy those who informed against them, were to be laid open, this list of offences certainly warranted a resort to arms, or the imposition of a fresh treaty under pain of war.

Against the Ameer Roostum of Kyrpoor they proved, secret intercourse with foreign states, contrary to treaty and with designs hostile to the British;—maltreatment of British servants;—obstructions to the commerce and navigation of the Indus;—illegal imprisonment of British subjects, and, through the agency of his minister, Futteh Mohamed Ghoree, aiding the escape of Mohamed Shurreef a public enemy, which happened about this period.

Against the Ameer Nusseer of Hyderabad, was the assembling of troops to attack Shere Mohamed of Meerpoor, upon a boundary dispute which had been referred to the British arbitration;—perfidiously inveigling the assistant political agent to meddle privately in a dispute between the Ameer and his subjects, and then charging this his own act against the British Government as a breach of treaty;—repeated wilful violations of the eleventh article of the treaty, with an avowed determination to set it aside;—delaying the transfer of Shikar-

poor, when he knew of the disasters in Affghanistan;—secretly coining base money to defraud the British Government in the payment of tribute;—exacting illegal tolls, refusing to refund, and obstructing the navigation and commerce of the Indus;—opposing the free supply of the bazaar at Kurrachee, and preventing his subjects from settling and trading in the British cantonment;—employing troops to menace the possession of another Ameer, when the dispute had been referred to the British authorities, thus violating the 3rd article of the treaty, which guaranteed to each Ameer his separate dominions;—neglect of tribute, and finally, exciting by letter Beebruck, the chief of the Booghtee tribe, to take up arms against the British troops, who were he said, retreating worsted from *Khorassan*, the name by which the Scindians generally designated Affghanistan.

These offences, which were all violations of treaty, had been continued from early in 1841, up to September 1842, shewing a settled enmity; and at the very moment of Sir C. Napier's arrival at Sukkur, Nusseer and Roostum, the chief Ameers of upper and lower Scinde, contracted a secret alliance and confederacy, offensive and defensive against the British power. They sought to draw Ali Moorad into their views; they prepared to send away their wives and children; they collected their troops, enlisted many of the Affghans who had followed General England's column from Quettah; issued instructions to all their feudatory chiefs to be in readiness to take the field, and held councils with the chiefs of the Murrees and other Brahooe tribes. The English troops, they said, were, as their spies informed them, so weak miserable and sickly,

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1842. Sept. Parliamentary Papers, Scinde.

they could not resist, and if they were healthy, "had they not been driven from Affghanistan! "Let the priests proclaim a religious war against "the Feringhee caffirs! When they went against "Khorassan and Cabool, they made us promise "three lacs of rupees yearly for tribute. Now they "have been driven from thence, and we have an "answer ready when the money is demanded"!

Here were ample grounds for a resort to force. Did Lord Ellenborough eagerly seize the opportunity? Did his General advise him to do so? The answer to these questions will place their conduct in a true light, each on its own pedestal, for their distinct position must always be kept in view. Lord Ellenborough knew all the odious process by which the treaties, giving him the right now to resent these hostile measures of the Ameers, were obtained. The General knew nothing of them, the official correspondence explaining them was not then published; he could not suspect its nature; he could not ask for it, nor would it have been given to him if he had. He could only look at the treaties as contracts, voluntarily made, and which he was in Scinde to uphold, both as a political agent and as a military officer. As contracts he saw friendship alliance protection, offered and accepted by the weaker power; the promotion of trade commerce and navigation; and in their effects the improvement of the people's condition. He saw those people, of all classes, crowding into the British cantonments to avoid the grinding exactions and barbarous tyranny of their rulers. He saw those rulers debauched and ignorant, trampling for their pleasures, with the hoofs of wild beasts, one fourth of the fertile land which should

have fed the starving multitudes; and this with so little remorse, that one had recently depopulated two villages to make a Shikargah for his child of eight years old!

It was with these things before his eyes, this suffering and wickedness on one side, this promise of remedy on the other, that Sir Charles Napier made that report to Lord Ellenborough which was to determine the latter's course of action.

And Lord Ellenborough's right to act, that also must be considered, or there can be no just judgment!

It was the right of necessity, the right of self-preservation, a necessity he had not produced, he found it, but he was bound by it. In that consists its justice. Take away this ground and it was a continuation of Lord Auckland's aggressive policy; yet always with this palliation, that Lord Ellenborough sought no aggrandisement, put forth no mocking pretensions of friendship to cover injustice. Standing on the right of treaties concluded, he pursued the general interests of humanity, disregarding only the conventional rights of besotted tyrants, men who themselves trampled upon all rights, and were ever ready sword in hand to take from the possessions of their neighbours. This is the worst view that can be given of Lord Ellenborough's policy. But he had also the plea of self-preservation; and be it remembered, Sobdar of Hyderabad, and Ali Moorad of Kyrpoor had with a good will accepted the treaties from the first, and Shere Mohamed of Meerpoor, voluntarily sought a treaty on the same footing as Sobdar, demurring only to the payment of tribute.

The origin of the Scindian war being thus placed on a sound basis for fair discussion, the following

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view taken by Sir Charles Napier will be more readily appreciated:

1842. Parliamentary Paper. Letter to Lord Ellenborough, 17th Oct.

"It is not for me to consider how we came to "occupy Scinde, but to consider the subject as it "now stands. We are here by right of treaties "entered into by the Ameers, and therefore stand "on the same footing as themselves; for rights "held under treaty are as sacred as the right "which sanctions that treaty. There does not "appear any public protest registered against the "treaties by the Ameers, they are therefore to be "considered as free expressions of the will of the "contracting parties."

"The English occupy Shikarpoor, Bukkur, and "Kurrachee, by treaties which, if rigidly adhered "to by the Ameers, would render those princes "more rich and powerful, and their subjects more "happy, than they now are. If sticklers for "abstract right maintain—as no doubt they will— "that to prevent a man from doing mischief is to "enslave him, then it may be called hard to enforce "a rigid observance of these treaties. But the evi- "dent object of the treaties is to favour our Indian "interests, by abolishing barbarism and amelio- "rating the condition of society, by obliging the "Ameers to do, in compliance with those treaties, "that which honourable and civilized rulers would "do of their own accord. It is necessary to keep "this in view, because though the desire to do "good would not sanction a breach of treaty, "it does sanction the exacting a rigid adherence "to the treaties by the Ameers; and the more so "that their infractions of them evinces the bar- "barism of those princes, their total want of feel- "ing for their subjects, and their own unfitness

" to govern a country. These things must be kept " in mind, or what I am about to say will appear " unjust, which is not the case."

" By treaty, the time for which we may occupy " our present camps is unlimited; but there is such " hostility to us on the part of the Ameers—such " a hatred of the treaties—such a resolution to " break them in every way; there is amongst their " people such a growing attachment to British rule, " that the question arises, whether we shall abandon " the interests of humanity and those of the British " Government, which in this case are one, and at " once evacuate Scinde; or take advantage of " existing treaties and maintain our camps perma- " nently?"

" If we evacuate the country, future events will " inevitably bring us back to the banks of the " Indus. If we remain, our camps will soon be " filled with the Ameers' subjects flying from " oppression. These camps will quickly grow into " towns, and the people within them will carry on " a transit trade along the Indus, to the exclusion " of the subjects of the Ameers without. Among " the latter misery and poverty will sojourn, for " the exactions of the Ameers will in a great " measure destroy both commerce and agriculture " among their people."

" This produces another question; can such a " state of things long continue? A government " hated by its subjects, despotic, hostile alike to " the interests of the English and of its own " people: a government of low intrigue, and so " constituted that it must in a few years fall to " pieces by the vice of its construction? Will not " such a government maintain an incessant petty

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"hostility against us? Will it not incessantly "commit breaches of treaties, those treaties by "which alone we have any right to remain in this "country and must therefore rigidly uphold? "I conceive such a state of political relations can- "not last, the more powerful government will at "no distant period swallow up the weaker. Would "it not be better to come to the results at once? "I think it would be better, *if it can be done with* "*honesty*. Let me then consider how we might "go to work on a matter so critical, and whether "the facts to which I have called your attention "will bear me out in what I propose."

"Several Ameers have broken treaty in the "various instances stated in the accompanying "'*Return of Complaints*.' I have maintained that "we want only a fair pretext to coerce the Ameers, "and I think these various acts recorded give "abundant reason to take Kurrachee, Sukkur, Buk- "kur, Shikarpoor, and Subzulcote for our own, and "obliging the Ameers to leave a track way along "both banks of the Indus, stipulating for a supply "of wood: but at the same time remitting all "tribute, and arrears of tribute, in favour of those "Ameers whose conduct has been correct; and "finally, enter into a fresh treaty with one of "those princes alone as chief. I cannot think such "a procedure would be dishonourable or harsh. "I am sure it would be humane. The refractory "Ameers break the treaty to gratify their avarice, "and we punish that breach. I perceive no in- "justice."

"If it be determined to keep Sukkur and Buk- "kur, I think it would not be politic to give up Shi- "karpoor. The town of Sukkur stands on an elbow

" of the Indus, which surrounds the town on two " sides; on the other two, at about four miles dis- " tance, it is closed in by a large jungle, through " which passes the road to Shikarpoor where the " jungle finishes. If we evacuate Shikarpoor, the " robber tribes will descend from the hills and " establish themselves in the jungle, Sukkur will " be blockaded, and no one be able to move be- " yond the chain of sentries without being mur- " dered. To clear this jungle with infantry will " be impossible; the robbers will retreat, and when " the troops retire again occupy the jungle. But " if Shikarpoor is occupied, a body of cavalry sta- " tioned there could spread along the outskirts of " the jungle, while infantry would by concert " push from Sukkur through the wood. The rob- " bers, thus cut off from the hills, would receive " such a terrible punishment as to deter other tribes " from trying the same experiment."

" In a commercial point, Shikarpoor is of con- " siderable importance. It offers a depôt for goods " from the north and west, with the countries of " which it has long possessed channels of commu- " nication. Adverse circumstances may for a " while interrupt these, but under a firm protecting " government they would soon be re-opened: Shi- " karpoor goods would be sent to Sukkur, there to " be shipped on the Indus; and they would also " be passed by land to Larkaana, and thence to " Kurrachee. These seem to have been formerly " the lines of trade; they are geographically and " naturally so, and will, therefore, quickly revive. " But if Shikarpoor be left to the mercy of the sur- " rounding freebooters commerce cannot thrive; " nor, without Shikarpoor be strongly guarded, can

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"it pass through the jungle to Sukkur. These "two towns naturally support each other in "commerce."

"In a political view Shikarpoor has the advan- "tage of being chiefly inhabited by a Hindoo "population, tolerated for ages by the Mussulmans, "and, consequently, forming a pacific link of in- "tercourse between us and the nations north and "west; through Shikarpoor these Hindoos will "gradually filter the stream of commerce, and be "the means of social intercourse between the Ma- "homedans and ourselves, in time uniting those "who will not abruptly amalgamate. Shikarpoor "contains many rich banking houses, which is a "sure evidence of its being a central point of "communication between surrounding countries, "and, consequently, one where the British Go- "vernment would learn what was going on in "Asia. The money market is generally the best "political barometer.

"The robber tribes in the neighbourhood have "kept down this town in despite of its natural "and acquired advantages; in fact, the robber is "every where the master; therefore all around is "barbarous, and barbarous must continue to be, "till civilization gradually encroaches on these "lawless people, and I think Shikarpoor is pre- "cisely one of those grand positions which ought "to be seized in that view. I have, therefore, "directed Major-General England not to evacuate "that town till further instructions are received "from the Governor-General."

"I have drawn up this memorandum entirely "on my own consideration of the subject; but "since Major Outram's arrival, which took place

when I had finished the last paragraph, he has "given me every possible assistance. He concurs "in all I have said, but, at the same time, he has "added much to my local knowledge, and in jus- "tice to the Ameers, I must, with this increase of "information, enlarge upon what I have stated.

"The Ameers say, they did not understand "article XI. of the treaty to prohibit the levying "of tolls on their own subjects. They urge, in "proof of this misconception, that they resisted "the treaty because of other articles less important, "yet never objected to article XI. because they "relied on article V. This may be; and I would "willingly, if possible, suppose that they really "did conceive the treaty gave them tolls on their "own subjects; but they have attempted to levy "tolls on the boats of the Khan of Bhawulpore, "which the treaty assuredly does not give them a "right to do; and they have fired into the boats "of merchants from Bhawulpore. The treaty "could not have been misconstrued on these "points, and therefore I do not believe they mis- "construed article XI., but broke it purposely. "The treaty has also been broken by treasonable "correspondence, and other vexatious acts, as set "forth in the return of complaints.

"Now, what punishment do I propose for their "misconduct? Injury to their family? No! "Injury to their subjects? No! What then? "The reduction of their territory by four places; "two of which, Sukkur and Bukkur, are barren "spots yielding no revenue; the other two, Kur- "rachee and Shikarpoor, towns nearly ruined by "their tyranny, and for one of which, Shikarpoor, "we have negotiations pending. To obtain these

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"places in seignorage it is proposed to remit all "tribute in arrear, and for the future withdraw "our resident from Hyderabad, ensure the amelio- "ration of the impoverished state in which their "subjects languish, and, in time, add to the power "and wealth of the Ameers themselves by opening "the commerce of the river. To their selfish feel- "ings their avarice and love of hunting, ought "such great general interests to be sacrificed? I "think not. The real interests of the Ameers "themselves demand that their puerile pursuits "and blind avaricious proceedings should be sub- "ject to a wholesome controul, which their breaches "of treaties, and our power give us at this moment "a lawful right to exercise, and the means of "peaceably enforcing. If any civilized man were "asked this question. 'Were you the ruler of "Scinde, what would you do?' His answer would "be. 'I would abolish the tolls on the rivers, "make Kurrachee a free port, protect Shikarpoor "from robbers, make Sukkur a mart for trade on "the Indus. I would make a track-way along its "banks; I would get steam-boats.' Yet all this "is what the Ameers dread."

"They have broken treaties, they have given a "pretext, and I have a full conviction, perhaps "erroneously, that what I propose is just and "humane. I will go farther, and say, as Nusseer "Khan of Hyderabad has openly broken the treaty, "if the Governor-General chooses to punish him, "he may justly seize the district of Subzulcote, and "give it to the Khan of Bhawulpore, as I have "understood there was some intention of doing."

"The second point to which Major Outram has "drawn my attention is a very strong one. He

tells me, the tribes on the river, above that part "possessed by the Ameers of Scinde, do levy tolls, "and that there is no treaty or public document "forthcoming in virtue of which we can call upon "the Ameers even of upper Scinde not to levy "tolls upon their own subjects. It is therefore "evident that to call upon the Ameers of Hydera- "bad to desist from levying tolls, and to allow the "tribes above them on the river to do so, would be "unjust; that is to say, it would be unjust to allow "the others to levy tolls, but not unjust to prevent "the Ameers from doing so. The answer to the "argument: 'That tolls are levied on the North- "ern Indus' is just this. Say to those Northern "tribes, 'We have, with great trouble secured to "your boats a free passage on the river through "Scinde; we are resolved to open the commerce "of that great high way of nations; and you, who "receive benefit thereby, must join in this measure "leading to the good of all, and to the loss of "none.' Wherefore to excuse the Ameers upon "the ground that others are not equally coerced, "is answered by coercing the others."

"Having thus given the best view I can take of "this intricate subject, I shall accompany this "report by various documents, among which there "is one giving a kind of return, if I may so call "it, of the accusations against the Ameers, upon "which accusations, (relative to which I have read "every paper,) I have founded my opinion of "their conduct; and by referring to this return, "it will be seen whether I have justly estimated "the complaints made against them by the politi- "cal agents. I have also added the documents "verifying each transaction. I have caused Major

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"Outram to give me a memorandum of the state "in which the treaty with the Ameers for the pur- "chase of Shikarpoor remains, as it has been in "abeyance since last year. From this memoran- "dum it would appear, that in addition to the "great advantages for Sukkur, which would at- "tend the occupation of Shikarpoor, this district "would be a very valuable acquisition, in point of "revenue, in time; and would with the aid of "Kurrachee, cover the expense of guarding our "newly acquired towns on the banks of the Indus. "Should it hereafter be deemed proper to make "the proposed arrangements with the Ameers so, "as to punish those who have broken the treaty, "the details of such arrangements can be easily "made. The transfer of tribute due, would ade- "quately repay whatever portions of the districts "in question belong to the Ameers whose conduct "has been loyal."

Appended to this memoir was a table of the value of each town to be taken from the Ameers, the amount of tribute to be remitted being balanced against the gross sum, which gave a money gain to those princes of more than thirty thousand rupees yearly; an overplus to be offered as an equivalent for the *right* of cutting fuel along the banks of the river, the wood to be paid for besides.

This view of the affairs of Scinde, was transmitted to the Governor-General before the recent confederacy and warlike measures of the Ameers being known had placed them in a worse position; and, for a man seeking occasion to war, they furnished ample, undeniable justification, for drawing the sword. But neither now, nor at any time, did Sir Charles Napier desire ought but peace and justice.

Calmly he had reasoned on the general conduct of the Scindian rulers, and reached his conclusions with a full conviction of their honesty and humanity; hence the confederacy and all its warlike accompaniments disturbed him not, nor changed his views. He knew the Ameers to be debauched men, habitually intoxicated with "*bhang*;" he saw their measures, hasty and violent, were adopted more in defence than offence, as thinking their dominions were to be wrested from them; and he thus laconically noticed them. "*The Ameers are nervous, and these ebullitions are the result.*"

But though the confederacy and its menacing accompaniments was an ebullition, it was only one of many springing from a fixed resolution to throw off the yoke imposed by Lord Auckland, and such ebullitions became more frequent and violent as the state of affairs, in Affghanistan and other places, became more or less favourable for the British. Can any man blame the Ameers justly for this resolution, having retrospect to the aggressive unfair policy which imposed the treaties? Assuredly not! Neither can Lord Ellenborough be fairly censured, regard being had to his general position, and the great interests, political, military and commercial, involved in the question, if he was fixed to maintain the treaties he found existing; regard being had also, to the cries of humanity, to the suffering Scindians' supplications to abate the tyranny of their rulers; to the robber habits of the Beloochees; and to not the least important consideration resulting from the nature of the Ameers' sovereignty, the order of succession to the Turban being in favour of the brother not the eldest son. The splitting of their private possessions at

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every death, each portion carrying with it sovereign power, and that power being always exercised in the worst spirit of cruelty and oppression; the jealousies, the hatred, the civil dissensions necessarily attendant on such customs, together with the horrible debauchery and sensuality and ignorance of the princes themselves, under the action of which the whole race of Scindees was rapidly being exterminated, and their land becoming a wilderness; the inevitable termination in a very few years of the Talpoor dynasty, from this combination of all evil and hateful influences; and the final delivering over of the ruined country to the wild robber tribes, whose vicinity to the Anglo-Indian frontier must of necessity produce collision, and provoke conquest at a later period, which would be merely recurring, after so much misery on one side, to the supremacy now in possession, should also be remembered.

All these urgent and touching considerations rendered Lord Ellenborough's resolution not only just because necessary, but praiseworthy, nothing being opposed to it save a past wrong offered, not to the real interests but to the pride of sensual tyrants, by a former Governor-General! The world's ways are not so virtuous as to make this a fault, much less a crime!

Lord Ellenborough, taking the evidence presented to him by his General, as a guide, adhered to his former avowed resolution to punish and reward according to the fidelity or infidelity of his allies, as the rule of action; yet cautiously, and with a marked anxiety to apply it, uninfluenced by passion error or undue severity. Roostum of Kyrpoor's letter to the Maharajah, and the part

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Parliamentary Paper, Scinde. No. 387-388.

which his minister, Futteh Mohamed Ghoree, took in the escape of the Syud Mohamed Shurreef, affixed on that Ameer the character of an enemy; so also, Nusseer of Hyderabad's letter to Beebruck Booghtee, placed him in the same category. But, said the Governor-General, these acts must be clearly traced home to the Ameers ere any demand in reparation can be justly made. The other infractions of the treaty in lower Scinde had been however so frequent, and so pertinaciously persisted in, that effectual remedies and penalties to give them full effect must be applied; and those remedies should be extended to upper Scinde, the right to do so being grounded on the VIII Article of Roostum's treaty of 1839, by which that Ameer was bound to co-operate in all measures for extending and facilitating the commerce and navigation of the Indus.

In this view, repeating his former reasons for obtaining territory rather than tribute, Lord Ellenborough desired to base the new arrangements upon that principle. Referring also to a great scheme he was revolving to establish uniformity of money throughout India, he seized this opportunity for seeking to bring Scinde within its operation: but he was willing, in deference to the importance which all native princes attached to the right of coinage as the distinctive mark of sovereignty, to unite the device of the Scindian rulers with the device of England, the latter to bear the whole expense.

The right of cutting fuel for the steamers along the banks of the Indus he insisted upon, but desired in the practice to spare the feelings of the Ameers by respecting their *Shikargahs*.

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He had no wish, he said, to obtain more territory than was absolutely necessary to secure the command of the Indus, and therefore, whatever he might take from the Ameers in the way of penalty for past transgressions, and in exchange for tribute, all beyond that security would be given to the Khan of Bhawulpore, as a reward for his unvarying friendship; and this would be peculiarly fitting, as being only the restoring of territory which had been unjustly wrested from him by the offending Ameers; it would also give an uninterrupted line of communication, through friendly states, from the British station at Ferozepore to that in upper Scinde.

To secure the military command of the Indus, he required Sukkur Roree and Bukkur in upper Scinde; Tatta and Kurrachee in lower Scinde; most of them, as Sir C. Napier had observed, sterile places, and for which tribute to a greater amount than their worth was to be remitted: hence this also was entirely in the general interests of mankind.

"My ultimate object, said Lord Ellenborough, "is the entire freedom of internal trade throughout "the whole territory between the Hindoo Khosh, the "Indus, and the sea; and I only await the favourable "occasion for effecting this purpose, and for intro- "ducing uniformity of currency within the same "limits. And to these great benefits, to be en- "joyed equally by 140 millions of people, I desire "ultimately to add the abolition of all tributes "payable by one state to another, and the substi- "tution of cessions of territory made, by means "of mutual exchanges, as to bring together in "masses the dominions of the several sovereigns "and chiefs."

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These changes, if effected without shocking the national feelings and desires of the different people transferred, formed a great and noble scheme to benefit a fifth part of the human race, and alone would warrant a revision of the treaties with the Ameers by the force of negotiation; but the justice of a revision by force of arms, negotiation failing, would still rest on the violations of existing contracts. The demand for territory was a punishment, to be inflicted only on proof of actual hostility evinced by the Ameers in their secret negotiations for an armed confederacy against the British; and to obtain this proof the General was exhorted to use his utmost diligence, and conscientiously to report. Meanwhile he received the draft of a new treaty embodying the Governor-General's view, a distinction being made in favour of the Ameer Sobdar, whose unvarying faith was repaid, he not being under any tribute which could be remitted, by an accession of territory equal to 50,000 rupees yearly.

The required proofs were soon obtained, yet by a most rigid process. The General took an acknowledged seal of Nusseer, and compared it with that attached to the intercepted letter to Beebruck; they appeared similar; but when with a minute earnestness he measured each letter and their distances in both, with a pair of compasses, a difference was perceptible. He was however assured that to have two seals, thus differing to deceive, was notoriously the custom of the Ameers. Wherefore he desired the persons who had intercepted the letter, to procure for him also the secret seal of the prince; this they tried but could not do, and thus removed from the General's mind all suspicion of their treachery,

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seeing, that a second forgery would have secured the object of the first, and was not more difficult. None of the persons, English or native, cognizant of the Ameer's signet, doubted the authenticity of the intercepted seal; but their confident assertions on this head the General would not accept as proof, and thus delayed his decision; at last he obtained an authentic paper with the secret signet seal of Nusseer attached, and it was precisely the same as that on the intercepted letter; moreover, the writing accompanying the undoubted seal was known to be the writing of the Ameer's favourite moonshee or scribe. The proof was therefore complete that the Ameer had urged Beebruck Booghtee to fall on the British; and had also urged the Mooltan man, though less openly, to the same course and with effect, for he raised troops and diligently fortified his capital.

Roostum of Kyrpoor's intercourse with the Maharajah was likewise proved by his seal, the authenticity of which was never questioned; and by the concurrent testimony of persons conversant with such matters as to the style and verisimilitude of thought, but the writing was that of his minister; Roostum was old, and nearly imbecile from debauchery, wherefore Major Outram suggested that the minister might have affixed the seal of the Ameer without his knowledge. This fastidious delicacy of doubt, by a man who had so recently assured the Governor-General that the Ameer's conduct would justify the imposition of any terms, was put aside by this question from the General, "*If a Prince blindly gives his power and his signet to his minister, is such folly to excuse him from the consequences?*" Subsequently, Roostum's culpable

knowledge was established, and Sir Charles Napier, who had been charged by Lord Ellenborough to draw up and present the new treaty to the Ameers when the proofs of delinquency were complete, was now empowered to choose his own commissioner to conduct the details of the negotiation; and, such was the confidence reposed in his judgment, to carry through this affair honourably by diplomacy or arms, that the Governor-General left him master of both, observing, "that he could make no concession before a native power which was collecting troops, nominally for defensive purposes, but which the least wavering would direct to purposes of aggression." CHAP. VI. 1842. Nov.

Sir Charles Napier now became arbiter of peace and war; on his head rested the responsibility, moral and political, of enforcing the treaty; in his hands were life and death for thousands; the fate of Scinde depended on his word, the fate of India perhaps on the stroke of his sword. He was an untried general, but now found equal to the crisis; and what his friends had always known him to be, he shewed himself to the world, a man of strong heart and subtil genius, sagacious in perception, ready in expedients, of heroic daring, his fiery courage, supported by a pure conscience and tempered by the gentlest feelings, but warmed with a generous spirit which spurned dishonour in whatever garb it came.

"I will," he wrote to the man who had so confidingly placed him in this post of difficulty and danger, "*I will present your treaty to the Ameers.* "*I will spare no pains to convince them, that neither* "*injury nor injustice are meditated, and that by* "*accepting the treaty they will become more rich,*

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" *and more secure of power than they now are. If* " *they refuse to listen to reason, if they persist in* " *sacrificing every thing to their avarice and their* " *hunting grounds, they must even have their way,* " *and try the force of arms at their peril, if they* " *are so resolved.*"

With what an insane fury they did rush to arms shall be shewn hereafter.

CHAPTER VI.

LOOKING forward, like an experienced soldier, to the ultimate chance of war, Sir Charles Napier had early applied himself to the organization and discipline of his troops, for they were generally inexperienced. He drew them out frequently, and accustomed them to move in masses; he taught them by counsel also; and exhorted them to a subordinate and modest conduct towards the people of Scinde. Nor was he deficient in a quaint humour which no danger or suffering has ever abated, for when did Charles Napier's spirit ever quail! Broad at times the stream of that humour flows, but never sinks to buffoonery; always illustrative, it conveys instruction and even imperious rebuke in a laughing guise; and with a jest he wins the soldiers' hearts, for they feel their general regards them as comrades and not as slaves. Thus, when some insolent and silly young men persisted, insubordinately, to ride violently through the camp and the bazaars, causing frequent accidents, he issued the following characteristic order, bringing ridicule and fear at once to bear on the offenders.

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"Gentlemen as well as beggars, if they like, "may ride to the devil when they get on horse-"back; but neither gentlemen nor beggars have "a right to send other people to the devil, which "will be the case if furious riding be allowed in

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"the bazaar. The Major-General has placed a "detachment of horse at the disposal of Captain "Pope, who will arrest offenders and punish them, "as far as the regulations permit. And Captain "Pope is not empowered to let any one escape "punishment, because, when orders have been "repeated and are not obeyed, it is time to enforce "them—without obedience an army becomes a "mob, and a cantonment a bear garden; the en- "forcement of obedience is like physic, not agree- "able but necessary."

He had about eight thousand fighting men, but some were at Kurrachee, and he was ordered to send the Bengal troops to Ferozepore, yet Lord Ellenborough, who never gave a half support, empowered him not only to retain this column, but even promised him reinforcements if he required them. He did not demand any, but he stopped the march of the Bengal people. He was also charged with a new organization of the political establishment in Scinde, having authority to regulate both numbers and salaries; he made a great reduction in both; Major Outram, then, after delivering over the papers of his office, returned to Bombay, first telling the General that with the reduced establishment he would not be able to conduct the public business: yet he did conduct it and most successfully when it was tenfold greater than any which had fallen under Major Outram's direction. This reduction of the political functionaries, instantly excited all the brutish violence of the editors of Indian newspapers; their obstreperous cries deafened the Eastern community, Doctor Buist, of the *Bombay Times*, being the most dissonant and shrill.

During these transactions the agitation of the Ameers and chiefs augmented; and the cessation of Major Outram's political functions alarmed and offended those of lower Scinde; they called it a slight, and seemed to think it preliminary to giving the country up to the Affghans; for the total evacuation of Affghanistan by Generals Nott, Pollock, and England, they could only understand as the result of weakness. They appear also to have exactly measured Major Outram's capacity as a diplomatist, and loved better to negotiate with him than with the General, whose temper they made but one trial of. They sent him a present of six thousand pounds, and to their surprise he returned it by the bearer: after that, in deceit was their only hope.

Futteh Mohamed Ghoree on the part of Roostum and his sons, Ali Moorad for himself, and a confidential agent for Nusseer of Hyderabad, now separately demanded conferences, and the General, acceding to the demand of the first, appointed the day most agreeable to Roostum and his sons; he even offered, to cross the Indus to do them honour, and meet them in their own garden away from his troops and unattended, but they immediately concluded there was some scheme to entrap them: they could not appreciate his frank confidence in their honour. Hence, failing to keep their own appointment, they, instead of meeting the General, held a council wherein the sons and nephews of Roostum, being jealous of Futteh Ghoree's influence over the old Ameer, reproached the latter for consenting to meet the Feringhee General at all, saying, that Futteh Ghoree's advice would destroy him. Even Ali Moorad appeared to act with the others, and

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being the ablest and the boldest, assumed an ascendancy and declared he would send a vakeel to ascertain what the British commander desired, when, if it were money or territory, he would refuse both, and place the country in the safe keeping of the Beloochees. In other words declare war; for these Beloochees were the feudatory troops and impatient for commotion to obtain pay and plunder, it being their custom on times of trouble to despoil the labouring and mercantile people of Scinde.

Roostum having thus broken his appointment, his sons took Affghan horsemen into pay, and wrote to the Boordees and other tribes to be ready, and at the same time the Brahooe Prince, Newaz Khan, who had been deposed in favour of Merab's son and was living on the bounty of the British Government at Shikarpoor, resigned his allowance and returned to his tribe. Futteh Ghoree made a fruitless attempt to recover his influence over Roostum when the Ameers separated, but was finally fain to go to Roree as the agent of Ali Moorad, whose voice was now to decide on peace or war. Letters also came from Nusseer of Hyderabad, encouraging Roostum and promising the aid of troops under the command of his son and nephew, the two Housseins. At the same time Shere Mohamed of Meerpoor was constituted commander of the forces in lower Scinde, and he promised to add sixteen thousand fighting men of his own to the general levy.

Roostum, thus swayed, not only kept away from the conference, but assigned fear of treachery as a reason, and he wrote to the Hyderabad family reproaching them for backwardness in collecting forces. The fighting men of the villages were now

all warned to be in arms, and the revenue was collected with great rigour and violence; Sadig, the Affghan accomplice of the escaped Syud, Mohamed Shurreef, was invited to Kyrpoor,—the Patans, or Affghan horsemen continued to reinforce the followers of the younger Ameers daily, and vaunting language about the British troops was freely spoken. In fine, the whole country was in commotion, the hill tribes were getting ready, and the Mooltan man continued his warlike preparations on the rear of the British with unabated diligence, and without ostensible reason.

Roostum and the inferior Ameers of upper Scinde, having now two thousand armed men as a guard, again demanded a conference with the General, to take place four miles down the river from Roree. But he, seeing their condition of mind, and thinking fit to resent their former neglect, refused. Then they proposed to have it held as before proposed in their garden of Roree, but he replied, "I will not go. I will not suffer you to treat me with rudeness and as a treacherous person."

Meanwhile the agitation of the country increased, and the Ameers were heard to say, "*We have eat* "*and drank well for many years, and we have en-* "*joyed our Ameeree; if it is the intention of the* "*English to fight with us, without a doubt they* "*shall find us ready for them.*" And one sanguinary monster advised that the throats of all their wives and children should be cut if the British advanced.

Parliamentary Papers relative to Scinde, p. 452-53.

It is not difficult to find the key to these violent movements and convulsive weaknesses of the Ameers. The aggression of Lord Auckland had left a deep feeling of revenge. The disasters of

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the British army in Cabool awakened their hope of gratifying that revenge, and recovering their independence. The evacuation of Affghanistan, after a second and victorious invasion, was to them a weakness, and Lord Ellenborough's policy, so publicly proclaimed, alarmed them, conscious as they were of secret feelings as well as acts of hostility. Major Outram's plan of withholding the warning letters had therefore failed, because the Governor-General's resolution was well known; it had been proclaimed to the world as his fixed policy; meanwhile his secret instructions were guessed at; and all being vague, was magnified as usual by fear and hope. Territory or money they thought must be demanded, and the sudden reinforcement of Sukkur by General England's column, led them to imagine the demand would be very great.

These things excited them in an extraordinary manner, and being told that the British soldiers were too weak and sickly to act in the field, which at first was partly founded in truth, they, with that heat and suddenness common to barbarian councils, resolved on war. But nervous and cowardly from their debaucheries, many of them being continually drunk with opium or bhang, their fears prevailed at times against their pride and anger; and thus, twisting and shrinking from the final trial, they could take no firm resolution but were nevertheless impelled forward, in despite of their terrors, by the influence of the feudatory chiefs and followers, men of iron hardihood, fatalists, and breathing only war. Against this influence they had no active counter passion to set, save their avarice, for the Beloochee fighting men were very

costly and insatiable. Hence the continual vacillation of the Ameers; hence their frequent violations of the treaties, their arrogance and humbleness by turns; their falsehoods, their complaints, and excuses; their secret alliances; their cry of war one day, of peace the next. And with all this they had frequent quarrels amongst themselves, so that no general plan could well be settled by men so jealous, so cowardly, so grasping, and so selfish.

Ali Moorad of Kyrpoor, and Sobdar of Hyderabad, being from policy really averse to break with the British Government, soon discovered their secret desires. The former obtained a conference with the General. He was a bold intelligent man, and at once asked, "*if the English would secure the* "*turban of supremacy to him?*"

"*We will adhere to treaties?*" was the reply. "*They bind us to protect each Ameer in his rights.* "*The turban of the Talpoors is Roostum's, unless* "*he forfeits it by hostility, and he shall keep it until* "*he dies, when it will become yours if you continue* "*to be a friend, because such is the order of succes-* "*sion, and such is the treaty.*" Parliamentary Papers relating to Scinde, p. 456, 57.

"*But will you protect Roostum if he seeks to give* "*the turban during his life to his son?*"

"*No! that will be against the treaty. We shall* "*not do so.*"

Feeling satisfied with this, Ali Moorad asked if he and Sobdar, being of one mind, might make a secret treaty to support the British.

"*Be faithful to the British! Yes! it is your* "*duty, but openly. Make no secret compact. You* "*have the existing treaties, adhere to them. The* "*English are powerful enough to make all parties* "*conform to them.*"

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Thus ended the conference, from which the English General drew these advantages. He displayed his resolution to act justly; he detached the most able and formidable of the Ameers from the family league, and thus diminished the chances of bloodshed; and he had made a step towards reversing Lord Auckland's policy, by recreating one responsible chief with whom to negotiate, and reducing the rest of these numerous petty despots to the rank of rich noblemen; a result which he ardently desired, and foresaw would happen, when Sukkur, which was daily increasing in size and wealth under the protection of the British, should become a great and powerful town in their neighbourhood.

During these demonstrations on the side of the Ameers, which occupied the month of November, the General studied the character of those princes, and their measures. Perceiving their unsettled state of mind, he judged that a firm course of policy, appearing not to see settled hostility but invariably checking any violation of the existing treaties, would be the most likely mode to calm down their agitation, and bring them to a quiet consideration of the provisions of the new treaty, which he was peremptorily ordered to present, as soon as the proofs of past misconduct were complete to justify the proposal. This system accorded also with his military precautions; for amidst such disorder he could not calculate upon peace without being well prepared for war. Hence he hurried not, but resolved to give time, and circumstances which were hourly changing, their full effect, ere he bared the sword whose edge he dreaded for the Ameers more than for himself.

"Nothing," he wrote to the Governor-General, "nothing is lost by delay. We cannot be too "cautious in securing firm moral ground on which "to rest the defence of whatever events may arise. "The Ameers also grow weaker, delay exhausts "their treasury, and then they cheat their soldiers, "who of course leave them. This also is the sea- "son of fevers on the banks of the Indus. Were "hostilities to commence now, I should lose many "men, and have a large hospital.—To move on "Hyderabad I must go by the river or by the de- "sert. To supply the sick by the last, would be "difficult if not impossible. To go by the river "would augment the hospital. The Indus is fall- "ing, and when it is at the lowest the fevers will "cease. Meanwhile I have a sickly camp, and I "should have regretted if the Ameers had called "me out before; now they are welcome. But all "these considerations have made me hitherto avoid "pressing them hard on any point.

"If I am forced to take the field, I will cross the "Indus and march upon Hyderabad by land; for "there are objections to dropping down the river. "The water is low, boats go with difficulty when "lightly laden; I cannot float more than a thou- "sand men with guns and stores, and the vessels "would even then be overladen and ground perhaps "for days on the mud within reach of matchlocks. "Nothing can be gained by rapidity. The enemy "has no position to fortify, no works to strengthen, "no stronger place to retire upon; three or thir- "teen days' movement will therefore be the same; "but by land we go compact, to beat or be beaten "altogether, whereas crowded in boats straggling "for miles along the river, and half of them

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" grounded in the shallows under matchlock-fire, " would lead to disaster. 'Slow and sure,' is an " adage suited to my position; and moving by " land I shall take Kyrpoor at once, and thus " throw myself between the northern and southern " Ameers, for there need be no slowness when once " we take the field, if unfortunately the folly of the " Ameers goes that length."

Acting on these views he endeavoured to dissipate two errors which buoyed these princes up to resistance. These were the supposed exhausted and helpless state of his troops, and the expectation that the greatest part of those fit for duty, had been recalled to Ferozepore, to join the army of reserve there. This army of reserve, their imperfect information and judgment led the Ameers to think was gathered in fear and necessity to defend India, instead of being the prompt action of a prudent man to awe the Punjaub, while the army of invasion was in Affghanistan. It is thus that barbarians, however brave and naturally gifted, always shew themselves incapable of great combinations in war. They have neither the patience nor the knowledge to analyze and class the parts of an extensive military plan of operation. They see quickly, feel intensely, and strike from impulse, vehemently and even mightily at times, but it is only the surge of waters scourging the rocks.

Sir Charles Napier, as we have seen, had stopped the march of the Bengal troops, and now exhibited to Ali Moorad a review of more than 6000 fighting men of all arms, moving with that precision and rapidity which barbarian commanders, used only to irregular multitudes, can scarcely understand but feel the force of. Lord Ellenborough also, desirous

of preventing bloodshed by an imposing display of force, offered to reinforce the army with all the Bombay troops under General Nott, but these were declined as unnecessary.

But now continued infractions of the treaties in the matter of tolls in upper Scinde, accompanied with insult and violence, forced the General to vindicate his own and Lord Ellenborough's avowed policy, and he sent a staff officer with the following letter to the Ameer Roostum :—

" A merchant has been made to pay toll by your " Kardar, named Kaymah, at Dowlatpore. This " is a breach of the VIII Article of your treaty. It " has taken place several times, but this is the first " complaint that has been laid before me. I would " not have suffered the breach of a treaty in a " single instance had I been aware of it : and every " man who makes a well founded complaint to me " shall have redress. The sufferers in the present " case accompany the bearer of this letter, who is " one of my aides-de-camp, and he has my orders " to insist upon your Highness' repaying the toll " levied by your Kardar, and also all the expenses " to which the sufferers have been exposed, amount- " ing to the sum of 238 rupees. I further insist " upon the offending Kardar being sent a prisoner " to my head-quarters at Sukkur within the space " of five days, to be dealt with as I shall deter- " mine.

" Unless your Highness does immediately com- " ply with these demands, I shall consider these " various and insulting violations of treaty have " been committed with your sanction, and I shall " treat you as an enemy. These are the orders of " the Governor-General."

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The money was instantly paid, and promise given to send the Kardar to Sukkur; but the imbecile Ameer, excited by false reports and constantly intoxicated with "*Bhang*," immediately held a great council with his feudatory chiefs, and his words proclaimed the disorder of his mind: "See," he exclaimed, "the English having been turned "out of Affghanistan and eaten dirt, have been "killed so far on their return to India. Their "force is large, and if they will but leave Scinde I "shall meet all their demands for money, even to "the jewellery of our women. If they do not leave "Sukkur and Scinde, if they advance to Kyrpoor, "we must fight them."

Parliamentary Papers relating to Scinde, p. 464.

His warlike hearers assented, and placed their hands on the Koran in token of obedience to his orders.

When the council separated, messengers were sent to engage the Boordees, a powerful neighbouring tribe, to take arms. Yet the recent stern communication from the General had evidently shaken the Ameer's resolution. In the former council, neither land nor money was to be yielded; now money was to be freely offered and points of honour were spoken of; but dissension was rife; Roostum openly avowed his intention to give the turban of supremacy to his son Hoossein, in prejudice of Ali Moorad's right. The latter's determination to adhere to the English interest was, as the General expected, immediately fixed: he went off to his fortress of Dejee-ka-kote, behind Kyrpoor, and disbanded the soldiers in his pay, but they were instantly enlisted by Hoossein, who, leading the younger princes despised his imbecile father Roostum, and told him to retire from state affairs. Then

increasing the number of his own armed followers, he gave his Beloochees orders to rob and slay the stragglers of the British camps, uttering many vaunts.

In this state of affairs, the favourable season for acting having set in, the General, who had finished his military preparations, and completed the proofs of the Ameers' ferocious hostility without reference to their recent conduct, judged it time to present the new treaty, which he had been again peremptorily commanded to enforce, as an act just in itself, well considered, and not to be departed from. It was therefore delivered in form to the Ameers of upper Scinde on the 4th of December, and to the Ameers of lower Scinde on the 6th of that month, together with official notes from Lord Ellenborough, marking the estimation in which the conduct of each Ameer was separately held by the Governor-General.

To the Hyderabad Princes he expressed his dissatisfaction at their conduct, and required their assent to the treaty generally; yet he called their attention particularly to the remission of tribute, as proof of his desire to establish peace and friendship. But to Nusseer he sent a distinct communication, enumerating his offences and interdicting all friendship until atonement was made.

The tone adopted towards Roostum of Kyrpoor was one of sorrow, that he, formerly so well disposed to the alliance, should now have been led by evil counsels to a secret hostile engagement with the Maharajah, and to aid the escape of the Syud Shurreef, whese object he knew was to war upon the British forces. These violations of the old treaty were, he was told, too serious to be entirely

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pardoned, and therefore he could not be considered a friend unless he accepted the new treaty, the particulars of which have been given; but it is good to note again, that Sobdar of Hyderabad was always favoured, because he constantly expressed friendly feelings towards the British alliance and condemned the proceedings of his brother Ameers. This was indeed no virtue in him, but rather an indication of his discontent at being deprived of his father's dignity by the anomalous law of succession in the Talpoor family; and when the crisis came he was found like the rest in deeds, or perhaps more base and perfidious, being true to neither side, and anxious to commit a horrible treason against one or the other: but it proves that Lord Ellenborough sought no unjust pretext for hostilities, and that he was prompt to accept and encourage good will by favour. Moreover no notice was taken of the Meerpoor man, though his sentiments were known to be hostile, because his acts furnished no ground of complaint.

The Ameers being now acquainted with the extent of the new treaty offered to them, displayed all their crooked diplomacy. Denying against evidence that they had ever violated the old treaties, they invited further investigation, well knowing that none could be openly conducted when the death of any person daring to appear against them would be prompt and sure. They then recurred with affecting force, because with truth, to the original wrong inflicted by Lord Auckland, and with feigned humility professed perfect submission to Lord Ellenborough. But at the same time they increased their forces, and ordered the tax-gatherers to extort from the districts which were to be ceded,

not only the revenue of the year but of the next also; their armed Beloochees plundered all the country between Sukkur and Shikarpoor; their spies entered the British camp at the former place; and in their councils they arranged a general plan of campaign which shall be noticed hereafter.

In Nusseer's protest there was a remarkable assertion, characteristic of Scindian diplomacy, which merits particular notice, as shewing how little reliance could be placed on any declaration promise or statement of that Ameer. "I and Noor Mohamed," he said, "saw the advantage of seeking the protection of the wisest and most powerful nation on the earth, and therefore urged Sir Henry Pottinger, during two whole years, to come into the country, after which we finally succeeded in introducing a British force." Had this startling assertion been true, it would have justified Lord Auckland's aggression, and more forcibly Lord Ellenborough's policy. With such a specimen of falsehood before his eyes, the General could not give credence to their professions of submission. He received them indeed with an outward show of satisfaction; and though Roostum's reply was more completely humble and entire than Nusseer's, assenting to the treaty specifically and acknowledging British supremacy, Sir C. Napier, wary and watchful, kept his attention fixed on their movements; for he knew of all their measures, which were so much at variance with their words, and gave no credence to their protestations.

His situation was now painful and difficult in no ordinary degree. On the one hand the Governor-General's orders were reiterated and peremptory; on the other he had to deal with violent passionate men,

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neither masters of their own senses from habitual intoxication, nor masters of their actions from the rough influence of their armed feudatories, whose attendance they had invoked but whose desire for war and plunder they could neither check nor controul. His aversion to shed blood was intense, his sense of duty to his country as intense, and on his head was now cast the moral, the political and military responsibility, at a crisis when the slightest error might lead to a battle, perhaps to a great disaster, and when each hour brought its change, for the vacillation of the Ameers was surprising. His strong head and brave heart brought him with a clear conscience through the trial.

Having sent the Bengal troops across the Indus, he was preparing to pass over another body, when he was told the Ameers only awaited this separation of his forces to assail his lines at Sukkur by night; and their constant intoxication rendered the intelligence probable. Wherefore he wrote to Roostum thus:—

"Your submission to the order of the Governor-"General, and your friendship for our nation, "should be beyond doubt, because you have "solemnly assured me of the same. We are "friends. It is, therefore, right to inform you of "strange rumours that reach me. Your subjects, "it is said, propose to attack my camp in the "night time. This would of course be without "your knowledge, and also be very foolish, because "my soldiers would slay those who attack them; "and when day dawned I would march to "Kyrpoor, transplant the inhabitants to Sukkur, "and destroy your capital city with the exception "of your Highness's palace, which I would leave

Parliamentary Papers relating to Scinde, p. 467.

" standing alone, as a mark of my respect for your " Highness, and of my conviction that you have " no authority over your subjects. I should also " so far entrench on your Highness's treasury as " to defray the expenses of this operation, because " it is just that all governments should pay for the " mischief which their subjects inflict upon their " neighbours. I therefore advertise your High- " ness of the destruction which such an attempt " on my camp would inevitably draw down on " Kyrpoor, in order that you may warn your " people against committing any such act of hos- " tility."

Thus, quick to prevent by timely checks any rash violence which would draw down the terrible counterstroke he sought to withhold, he relied, with a just perception of the nervous timidity attaching to debauchery, on his dexterity to prevent any untoward outbreak, feeling confident that a steady diplomacy would then effect his objects without bloodshed. His warning was effectual, and meanwhile vakeels from the Ameers of both the upper and lower Scinde reached his camp, all promising for their masters that the new treaty would be accepted. Those from Sobdar, and Hoossein Ali of Hyderabad were congratulatory and cordial in their expressions of pleasure and submission; but Nusseer and Meer Khan spoke only in general terms of their friendly feelings. The General's secret intelligence still contradicted the Ameers' declarations. These princes, Ali Moorad excepted, were daily augmenting their forces; the women had been sent from Kyrpoor; councils were continually held, and a communication from Nusseer developed the real views of the Ameers.

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He complained to Roostum that "Sobdar and Houssein were, like Ali Moorad, in the British interest; but all the chiefs of tribes and of the armed men were with him, Nusseer, and if Roostum was ready the sword should be drawn."

That ancient Ameer also rebuked his sons for precipitation in sending off the women, saying, "the vakeels are at Sukkur to deceive. When the British regain confidence, and weaken their forces, thetorch shall be lighted to consume them."

The dawks, or mails, were at the same time robbed, disorders were every where rife, and the Boordees promised to harass the Bengal troops if they marched towards Ferozepore. These furious proceedings and wild councils did not disturb the General's judgment. Infirmity of purpose and intoxication were to him apparent in them, and he anticipated no military opposition in upper Scinde; but the verbal submission of the Ameers authorised, and the orders of the Governor-General enjoined him, to take possession of Subzulcote and Bhoong-Bharra. Wherefore he passed the Indus with a considerable body of troops, sent the Bengal columns to occupy the ceded districts, and publicly proclaimed the policy of Lord Ellenborough, according to the terms of the treaty. This passage of the river, effected about the middle of December, was an operation of some difficulty, and it was the first military measure in execution of Lord Ellenborough's avowed policy. It was also a decisive one. The sword was now raised, and the negotiation became an armed parley; it remained to be seen who would strike—who succumb. On one side was the strong warrior armed in steel and brandishing a heavy but sheathed weapon, in warning,

for his desire was peace; on the other, a crouching savage, urged by fury and hatred, troubled by fear and doubt, yet constantly creeping forward knife in hand.

A geographical outline of Scinde has been already given, but a slight topographical description is necessary to render the operations now in progress intelligible. To effect this clearly, the British stations in upper Scinde shall be taken as the point of departure, and the march of an army down the Indus by both banks sketched. Those stations were, when Sir C. Napier had passed the Indus, Shikarpoor and Sukkur on the right bank of the river; Roree and Alore on the left bank, Bukkur in the middle of the stream.

Shikarpoor, a large commercial city though much decayed from the tyranny of the Ameers, is situated on a plain about twenty miles from the river, on the high road to the Bolan pass.

Sukkur, also an ancient but decayed town, is on the bank of the river; it was at this time protected by an entrenched cantonment, and between it and Shikarpoor was a thick jungle.

Bukkur is a fortress on a rock in the river, between Sukkur, and Roree which is also on a rock overhanging the river.

A few miles to the left of Roree, looking down the stream, is Alore, the remains of an ancient city of historic fame.

An army occupying Sukkur, Roree, and Alore, as Sir C. Napier's army did at this time, would have the whole of the Ameer's country before it, except Shikarpoor on the right flank, and the districts of Subzulcote and Bhoong-Bharra in rear of the left wing.

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Suppose the troops on the right bank of the river to advance. They would pass over an immense alluvial plain, bounded on the right by the Hala mountains; on the left by the Indus, intersected with river canals, and the beds of water-courses called nullahs, some artificial but the most part formed by the annual inundations. Sixty miles from Sukkur they would come upon Larkaana, a city near a minor river connected with the Indus, called the Aral.

Marching onwards they would reach Sehwan, the site of an ancient fortress, about one hundred miles from Larkaana. Here the Lukhee hills, shooting from the Hala range, close in upon the river and form a pass, which renders Sehwan a post of strategic importance, confirming the notion that it was one of Alexander's stations.

From this pass the plain gradually opens out again by the continued divergence of the mountains from the course of the river, until it reaches, and gently spreads along the ocean with a low and placid front, assuaging rather than opposing its fury.

Over this second plain the troops would pass to Hyderabad, which lies on the left bank of the Indus some eighty miles below Sehwan; but still advancing they would reach Tatta fifty miles below Hyderabad.

Near Tatta, formerly rich and flourishing and celebrated for its manufactures, but now, like all places under the abominable rule of the Ameers, sunk to ruin, the Indus, separating into many branches, and opening out like a fan towards the sea, forms a delta, most intricate swampy and unwholesome. The march of the troops, avoiding this tangled

country, would be to the right, leading through Garra, a town of some consequence, to Kurrachee, which lies close under the Hala range, and is the only safe and commodious port of Scinde: the distance from Tatta is about eighty miles.

Now returning to Roree and Alore, an army advancing from those places down the left bank of the Indus, would also pass over an immense plain, spotted with shikargahs and intersected with nullahs from one to sixty feet deep.

On their right would be the Indus, which makes however a wide sweep from Sukkur to Hyderabad, the convex towards the mountains, and offering the chord for a march upon the latter town. Along this chord the main road runs, but there are several distinct routes, and one of them follows the winding of the river.

On the left would be the great desert, which, flowing as it were from the Punjaub, hems in a narrow strip of fertile land including Subzulcote and Bhoong-Bharra, as far as Hyderabad, where it eases off gradually towards the east, leaving a wide space between it and the delta.

Fifteen miles from Roree the army would come upon Kyrpoor, the capital of upper Scinde. At twenty-five miles it would confront the strong fortress of Dejee, crowning an isolated rock belonging to Ali Moorad, and supposed to be impregnable by the Beloochees.

At seventy or eighty miles from Roree it would enter Nowshera, the last town possessed by that Ameer to the south, bordering on lower Scinde. From thence a march of one hundred and twenty miles would bring it to Hyderabad, the fortified capital of lower Scinde; and on its left would

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be Meerpoor, the fortified capital of Shere Mohamed.

There are several Meerpoors, but this capital stands at the very edge of the desert, at the distance of forty miles on a right line drawn from Hyderabad eastward; and this line prolonged for fifty miles more would fall on Omercote of the desert, a strongly fortified town forming a post of connection between Meerpoor and the Bombay frontier.

It will now be understood, that by occupying Roree and Alore, his left resting on the desert, Sir Charles Napier barred the Ameers of Kyrpoor from Subzulcote and Bhoong-Bharra while his Bengal troops seized those narrow districts behind his position; thus he obtained the object of the treaty with Roostum, without quitting the defensive or provoking a war, and exactly fulfilled the Governor-General's orders. The Beloochees dared not attack him in a position which could be reinforced by the Bengal troops; they could not pass his flank save by the desert, and by a short movement on that side he could intercept them. They were indeed strong at Larkaana on the right of the Indus, and might assail Sukkur which was hemmed in with jungle; but he had strengthened his lines there as a pivot of movements, and now relying on their force, he sought to reduce the Ameers to quietude by reason.

Lord Ellenborough had permitted him to name his own commissioner for conducting the details of the new treaties, and with a generous impulse he asked for Major Outram, thus risking the Governor-General's displeasure. Lord Ellenborough, discarding personal feelings, acceded, and Major

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Outram was thus recalled to Scinde. This disinterested act of kindness was seized by the newspapers in Major Outram's interest, as an occasion for extolling that officer's superior genius and capacity, and abasing the reputations of Lord Ellenborough and Sir C. Napier. The first was described as having basely driven a remarkable man from his former political duties in Scinde; the second, as presumptuously and ignorantly undertaking those duties without ability for the task; both, as having plunged headlong into difficulties which they could no way escape from save by recalling their able victim. This absurd insolence, characteristic of Indian newspapers, is answered by the following letter from the General to Lord Ellenborough on the occasion; but as Major Outram's friends in England, as well as in the East, have forced a comparison between him and Sir C. Napier, their respective merits shall be tested in the course of this work by reference to their exploits.

"I have no intention of waiting for Major "Outram's arrival, because till we get into the "details of the treaty I do not want assistance; "and as your Lordship has been so good as not to "give me a colleague, I mean to consult no one. "I see my way clearly."

Parliamentary papers. Sir C. Napier to the Governor-General, Nov. 30, 1842.

Soon after this letter was written Major Outram arrived, with the newspaper reputation of having consummate knowledge of men and of affairs in Scinde; knowledge acquired by long experience in the country, and sustained by great natural capacity; yet he committed error upon error. With a dull or a perverted perception of character, his experience did not prevent him from becoming a dupe to the Ameers' gross diplomacy;

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he displayed no capacity for war beyond the hardy daring of a partisan; his pertinacity of opinion led to deplorable results which shall be noticed hereafter; and it would have caused the entire destruction of the army, but for the keener penetration, superior intellect, and firm resolution of his General, to whom he has ever since acted inimically: but that is human nature.

During the operation of crossing the Indus, Sir Charles Napier discovered that the vakeels of Roostum had received money to corrupt the soldiers, had delayed delivering their letters, and gave the Ameer false hopes. He checked this mischief with a prompt hand, writing thus to the Ameer:—"The men you sent to Roree are rob-"bing you. They will tell you that they are "bribing my soldiers, and they extract money "from your Highness, under that pretext. If they "were really bribing my soldiers to desert, I would "punish them, but they are doing no such thing; "your Highness is robbed by your servants. How-"ever, if you are not robbed, and that, as they "pretend, they were bribing my soldiers, it was "high time to turn them out of Roree, which I "have done; and if I find them attempting to dis-"turb the loyalty of my troops, it will be worse for "them. Ameer, I have received my orders, and "will obey them. I laugh at your preparations for "war. I want to prevent blood being shed: listen "to my words,—consult with your brother, his "Highness Ali Moorad. Your own blood will not "deceive you—your servants will. These men "were four days in Roree, and did not deliver your "letters to me; had I not sent for them, they "would still have kept them from me to gain "time, that they might rob you. Eight days have

"passed, and I have not heard that your Highness "has nominated a commissioner of rank to arrange "the details of the treaty. I expect to have in "writing your full acceptance of the draft thereof, "by the return of the bearer. Your Highness is "collecting troops in all directions, I must there-"fore have your acceptance of the treaty imme-"diately,—yea or nay. I will not lose the cold "weather. Your Highness must be prompt, or I "shall act without consulting your Highness; my "time is measured, and I cannot waste it in long "negotiations.

"Your Highness' letter is full of discussion; but "as there are two sides of your river, so are there "two sides to your Highness' arguments. Now the "Governor-General has occupied both sides of "your Highness' river, because he has considered "both sides of your Highness' arguments. Many "of your Highness' family have taken the same "view of the case that the Governor-General has; "and the respect which they have shewn to the "British Government is repaid to them by the "Governor-General. But I cannot go into the "argument,—I am not Governor-General; I am "only one of his commanders. I will forward "your letter to him, if you wish me to do so; but, "in the mean time, I will occupy the territories "which he has commanded me to occupy. You "think I am your enemy,—why should I be so? "I gain nothing for myself; I take no gifts; I re-"ceive no Jagheers. What is it to me whether "your Highness, or any other person, occupies the "land? The Governor-General has given to you "his reasons, and to me his orders; they shall be "obeyed."

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This drew from Roostum an unmeaning public reply, but covering a secret message, to the effect, that being eighty-five years old he was oppressed by the younger members of his family and desired to take refuge in the British camp. It was an embarrassing proposition. Too favourable for a peaceful termination of the disputes to be rejected, it had however this drawback, that every proceeding of the Ameer would be imputed to coercion. The General prevailed on Ali Moorad, who was then with him, to carry back the following written response:—

"*Your Highness is, I believe, personally a friend,*
"*but you are helpless amongst your ill-judging*
"*family. I send this by your brother. Listen to*
"*his advice, trust to his care: you are too old for*
"*war, and if battle begin, how can I protect you?*
"*If you go with your brother, you may either*
"*remain with him, or I will send an escort to bring*
"*you to my camp where you will be safe. Follow*
"*my advice, it is that of a friend. Why should I*
"*be your enemy? If I was, why should I take*
"*this trouble to save you? I think you will believe*
"*me, but do as you please.*"

It is plain the Ameer was left by this letter master of his movements though invited to a step promising peace, and that was the only wish of the General. But the British "*dawks*" had been intercepted, and there were two parties to deal with in the same house, namely, Roostum and his sons: wherefore, resolute to suffer no secret hostility, while he soothed the old man in private, he publicly menaced through him, as chief, the more insolent members of his turbulent family. "My letters," he wrote to Roostum, "have been "stopped near Kyrpoor. This has been done

"without your consent, or it has been done by "your orders. If by your orders, you are guilty. "If without your consent you cannot com- "mand your people. In either case I order you "to disband your armed followers instantly; and "I will go to Kyrpoor to see this order obeyed." Thus with skilful appliance of gentleness and sternness according to the need of the moment, he gradually approached the object of his desire, a peace compatible with the interests of his country and the Governor-General's orders.

Necessary it is that Sir Charles Napier's intercourse with the Ameer Roostum on this occasion should be well understood, because the Ameers of Hyderabad did afterwards, and so likewise did Roostum, contrary to all truth and reason and honour, represent it as the hinge upon which war turned. And every assertion of the Ameers, however foolish and false, has found its echo in Bombay and in England. Their complaints, foul as their hearts, have been adopted and proclaimed as truths when truth was the only thing they wanted, both in parliament and out of it; by some with base and factious motives, by some in ignorance, the ignorance that will not inquire lest it should be enlightened against its will; by others, who have bestowed their tediousness on the public, merely to let their reading and writing appear when there was no occasion for such vanities, being as intent as ever was Dogberry that what was not written down should be remembered.

Roostum, adopting the General's recommendation, fled with his wives and attendants to Ali Moorad's strong fort of Dejee, and there resigned to that chief the "*Puggree*" or turban of command,

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with all the rights and lands attached. When Sir Charles Napier heard of this he advised Ali Moorad not to accept the Puggree. "I think "your Highness will do well not to assume the "Turban, for the following reasons. People will "say that the English put it on your head, against "the will of Meer Roostum. But do as you "please. I only give you my advice as a friend "who wishes to see you great and powerful in "Scinde. This is the wish of my Government. "The Governor-General has approved of all that I "have said to you. If to be the chieftain gives you "power, I should say, assume the Turban. But it "gives you none. You are strong without it. No "one in Scinde can oppose you, no one out of Scinde "can oppose you. The British Government will "secure you against all enemies. It is not true "that we want to injure the Ameers. You know, "and I know, that the Ameers have tried to form a "conspiracy against the English, and for this the "Governor-General has punished those who were "guilty. His Highness Meer Roostum has been "betrayed by Futteh Mohamed Ghoree; but if a "ruler gives his power to another, he must bear "the consequence. The chief has now given his "seal to your Highness, who will not betray him, "because his honour must be your honour, for you "are both Talpoors, and the family of the Talpoors "will grow great and powerful in Scinde, under "your auspices. Look at Sattara and others; have "we taken their territories, though we surround "them on all sides? No. But we do not surround "Scinde. It is our frontier; we wish to see it "great, and rich, and strong against those on the "other bank of the Indus, that they may not attack

"the Ameers, but for this we must have friendly "rulers like yourself and Meer Sobdar. Woe "attend those who conspire against the powerful "arms of the Company. Behold the fate of Tippoo "Sultan and the Peishwa, and the Emperor of "China. Highness, you will rule upper Scinde "with glory and power, if you are true to the "Treaty made with the Company. You know, for "I had it from your own lips, that the Ameers of "upper and lower Scinde were in league against "us,—all, except his Highness Meer Sobdar and "yourself,—therefore have they suffered." CHAP. VI. 1842. Dec.

Ali Moorad replied, that the cession had been voluntary, the act solemn, complete in form and recorded by the holy men in the Koran. It was therefore a perfect document, and irrevocable according to the Mahomedan law and the custom of the Talpoors. And this was true. The event however was unexpected; to use the General's expression it burst like a bomb-shell upon Roostum's family and followers; they all fled in a south-easterly direction by the desert, and the chance of war in upper Scinde ceased. But Sir Charles Napier had been ordered by the Governor-General, to disperse the armed bands gathered in upper Scinde and menacing the British stations: he was now marching upon Kyrpoor with that object, and in pursuance of the notice he had given to Roostum when the dawks were intercepted. Wherefore being close at hand to Dejee, and feeling how important it was that the aged Ameer's resignation should not only be, but should be known as a spontaneous act, he proposed to visit him, and to restore him to his dignity if he had been coerced. Roostum, far from accepting this friendly advance, See App. to c. vi. § 2.

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immediately fled into the desert with his treasure, two guns and several thousand followers, thus ungraciously proving his entire freedom of action.

All the Ameers of upper Scinde inimical to the British were now in flight, and no organized force remained in that province save what was under Ali Moorad, who was friendly from disposition and from interest: the difficult question of tranquillizing upper Scinde without an appeal to arms was thus satisfactorily solved. Roostum however, when flying from Dejee, wrote such a letter to excuse his sudden departure as marks the profound falseness of his character. "The General," he said, "had advised him to be guided by his brother "Ali Moorad, and Ali had told him to fly lest he "should be made captive by the British; there-"fore he fled." This was denied by Ali Moorad, and Roostum's duplicity was apparent, seeing that only a few days before he had sought an asylum in the British camp and the General had advised him to go to Dejee: he could not therefore believe that he was in danger of captivity. He also in this letter disavowed his cession of the turban; yet the act had been public, in presence of the holy men and all the Dhurbar; and the document recording it, being afterwards shewn to the doctors of the Mahomedan law in Calcutta, was by them recognized as authentic and irrevocable. Moreover Roostum had thousands of armed followers with whom he fled to join his sons, then openly in arms, and closely allied in hostility to the British with the Ameers of lower Scinde. Ali Moorad therefore had no power to coerce him without a battle; and it was not for his interest that Roostum should fly, denying the cession of the turban.

Append. ut supra.

That Sir Charles Napier desired to have but one governing chief in each province to deal with politically, in opposition to Lord Auckland's policy of division, is true: and it is a proof that he and Lord Ellenborough meaned no evil towards the Ameers. To divide power and so excite mischief amongst many rulers with a view to conquest, is an easy policy and as old as the records of the world. It is true also, that Ali Moorad, being in the vigour of manhood and strong minded, and next in succession to the turban, and friendly withal to the British connexion, was the man he wished to make chief of upper Scinde. But to desire a reasonable advantage, and to obtain it by foul means, are things widely apart. A true summary of the transactions in upper Scinde would run thus.

The Ameers had repeatedly and grossly violated treaties of several years standing. Lord Ellenborough, placed by the Affghan disasters and the internal state of India, in a difficult and dangerous position, thought, and wisely, that he could not with any pretension to vigour and energy, pass over these violations. Hence he proposed new treaties by which the Ameers were to be more strictly bound for the future; and also as a punishment for past transgressions, he demanded cession of territory; but on conditions by no means onerous to the Ameers in a pecuniary point of view, and most beneficial to their oppressed subjects and to the general interests of mankind. The Ameers professed submission. They accepted the treaty and promised to sign it; but while so saying they prepared for war. Then the British General took forcible possession of the districts to be ceded by

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the treaty, but without bloodshed, and not before the Ameers had gathered forces to fight; not before they had formed hostile combinations, menaced his camp at Sukkur, sought to debauch his soldiers, and stirred up the Boordee tribe to cross the Indus and fall upon his Bengal division of troops when it should march up the Sutledge to rejoin the army at Ferozepore. Nor could he have delayed longer without exposing himself to the hot season in his military operations, if such should be necessary: a dreadful chance when the mercury rises above 130 degrees in the shade.

Moreover, the justice or injustice of Lord Auckland's treaties could not affect the English General's proceedings. He was sent to Scinde by Lord Ellenborough, not as a lecturer to discuss the morality of treaties made by a former Governor-General, but as an executive officer to maintain existing contracts, and to uphold the honour and interests of England at a moment of great difficulty. This duty he was executing faithfully when in the very heat and crisis of the transactions, Roostum, the Rais or chief Ameer, an old debauched wretch, frightened by the near approach of the war he was hourly provoking at the instigation of his sons and nephews, proposed to seek an asylum in the British camp, thus to secure his own safety while his family were carrying on hostilities. This was in itself a virtual renunciation of the turban, and a step towards the introduction of one friendly and vigorous minded chieftain, as the head of the oligarchy of princes then ruining the country, and with whom nothing could be permanently or satisfactorily adjusted. But far from seizing the occa-

sion thus presented by fortune with an aggressive spirit; the General, stedfast in justice and fair dealing, gave the Ameer advice tending to his safety and honour, yet left him free to act, and with promise of protection and safety. "*Remain with your own brother, you are too old for war.*" "*Come to me and I will protect you.*" "*Choose for yourself.*" These frank expressions could not be misunderstood, and cannot be perverted; they are patent in words and meaning. The Ameer Roostum was not misled nor misused by the English General, but by his own falsehood and folly; the transaction was as honourable to Sir Charles Napier as any part of his glorious career in Scinde; and the efforts of Lord Howick and other persons in the House of Commons to give it another character, only confirmed this truth: futile even to ridicule—they were laughed at and pitied.

Debate on the Vote of Thanks.

From the flight of Roostum may be dated the commencement of the Scindian war. The sword had been taken from the Ameers of upper Scinde, as it were by sleight, but they fled to the desert and to lower Scinde, there to raise in conjunction with their cousins of Hyderabad the standard of battle. They trusted in their sandy wastes, their strong and numerous fortresses, their deadly sun, in the numbers, courage, strength, and fierceness of their wild Beloochee swordsmen, and braver barbarians never gave themselves to slaughter. In these things they trusted, and not without reason; but they were opposed to what they could not understand, having no previous experience of his like—a man of fiery but vigilant valour, skilled in war and resolute to win; daring as the boldest chieftain of their hills and stern in fight: they found

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him so when their thousands went down before the bayonets of his valiant soldiers wallowing in blood, but never cruel or ferocious, for he loves peace and justice with a true heart, and strove hard to avoid the clash of arms. The Ameers would not have it so, and when the shock did come they were broken like potsherds. It was not the English General but the Scindian Princes who sought the contest. No Etruscan fecial ever cast his spear across a boundary, invoking his gods to attest the justice of a war, with a purer conscience than Charles Napier marched to battle; and now it shall be my task to shew how victoriously he bore the banner of England across the bloody fields of Meeanee and Dubba; how widely he has since spread England's fame for justice and gentleness by his administration: the Beloochs reverence and the Scindians bless him though the Ameers mourn.

Whether he is to live for more glory, or to die an overlaboured man beneath that flaming sun, whose fiery aspect withers the principle of life and casts men dead to the earth by hundreds as quickly as the malignant ray descends, is in the darkness of futurity. If he lives, he will display all the resources of a mind capacious to regenerate and govern as well as to conquer. If he dies in harness he will leave a spotless reputation. Living or dead his place is amongst the greatest of England's Captains.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.

Extracts from Sir Charles Napier's Private Letters, touching the Affghan operations.

"I have told Lord Ellenborough the chief cause of our disasters was, that when a smart lad could speak Hindostanee and Persian he was deemed a *statesman*, and a *general*, and was made a *political agent*. I mean, if I am employed, to refuse to be controlled by such a colleague. Look at the work made by the politicals * * * * * * * * * * at Cabool." Poonah, 30th Mar. 1842.

"In the course of the next week we shall hear whether they attempt the Kyber pass, or what they propose to do. Sale has not fifty rounds of ammunition left per man, and no money, and no magazine, so they must quickly do something. As to holding Affghanistan, there could be but one folly equal to the attempt to conquer it, and that would be to remain there. But they ought to let our flag fly at Cabool once more before we abandon the country, or the men of Napaul and Burmah will be upon us, and then up would rise many *internal* princes who want to throw off the yoke; and that would be a nice kettle of fish; it is very likely to happen though, and the treasury is empty. Lord Auckland has made a pretty mess of it altogether."

"May the luck which has hitherto attended Pollock go on! I dread the consequences if fortune turns her back upon him. He will thrash any force that can meet him in battle, but the Affghan will never give him that chance. Akbar was warranted in fighting at Jellallabad with six to one in his favour and relief coming to the besieged: but he will not try it again, and his loss there was trifling, Poonah, July 16th 1842.

only 3 or 400. If Pollock and Nott once begin to retreat they will find it no joke: yet all these conjectures are idle; it is a harlequin farce this Affghan war; one can reckon on nothing, and, as Moore said of the Spaniards, "I hope all that may happen will not happen." I believe the Seiks are faithful; all accounts hitherto say so. *Yet I think Lord Ellenborough, by assembling the army of reserve on the Sutledge, has taken the best means of securing their friendship.* People wonder *why* he assembles this force, one would think the reason is plain enough. The Seiks hold the Kyber pass in Pollock's rear, and have thirty thousand well drilled, well commanded troops! A nice way Pollock would be in if they turned upon him, and no force to move to his rescue. In short, look at the picture in what light you will, it is bad, and must give Lord Ellenborough very great anxiety, both as regards the danger and expense. *If Lord Ellenborough steers through all these rocks he will deserve well of India and of England also.* I sometimes fear I am a croaker, but I feel I am not; I think things *may* get all right, but I see such extraordinary proceedings that I cannot help thinking mischief must happen. I would give a great deal to see the Duke's opinion of what ought to be done. I wish he was here, or, that those who command armies would read his letters, especially that on Monson's retreat."

[*Note.*—When the military part of this work shall be published, it will be seen, with what a heroic understanding of its bearing Sir Charles Napier read that letter on Monson's retreat.]

Section 2.

Extracts touching the State of the Indian Army.

Poonah, 30th Mar. 1842.

"The general frame work of this army is bad. I see nothing that I can remedy as a Major-General, but plenty that I would quickly arrange were I Commander-in-Chief. They are full of the superiority of Europeans, which as regards the soldiers is *perhaps true, I have not seen the others fight.* But the mistake is this,—the former European officer was the enterprising, hard-headed,

daring fellow, who *taught and formed the Sepoy*, the Clives, the Lawrences, the Bussys, &c. &c. The present European officer is a youngster * * * In ten or twelve years, if he has brains and health, he acquires some knowledge, and is put on the staff, so that regiments are constantly commanded by lieutenants. At this moment I have a troop of Horse Artillery, which if the captain were to be taken ill, would be commanded by a cadet only fifteen years old! While this deterioration of the European officer is going on, the native officer seems to acquire a higher grade in general estimation. From the want of European officers, the young and ignorant are left for regimental duty, and the natives, even at this post, are the *real officers*, and very good ones too. The *Soubadars* are respectable men of high caste and very daring; many have the order of merit at their breast for daring actions. The other day the bearers of a palanquin with a wounded officer in it, being pressed by the Affghans, set it down and run; the Affghans made a rush to murder the officer, a Sepoy sergeant run up, shot the first Affghan, slew the second with his bayonet, and defended his officer till help came: and mind! at this moment they were *retreating* and hotly pursued; it therefore was done in the most trying circumstances. Now when knowledge is added to such intrepidity, it appears to me little short of folly to doubt that our European ascendancy can only be maintained by the European officers being kept complete in each regiment; especially those of the higher grades * * *—These Soubadars are steady, thoughtful, stern-looking men, very zealous and very military, the sole instructors of all the soldiers.

Section 3.

Extract of a Private Letter from Sir C. Napier, 16th January, 1843.

"I found the Ameers and our Government in the position which a treaty made by Lord Auckland placed them. I had no concern with its justice, its propriety,

or any thing but *to see it maintained.* I found that all the politicals had gone on, from the begininng, trifling. Sometimes letting the Ameers infringe the treaty without notice; at others pulling them up, and then dropping the matter: in short I saw it was a long chain of infringement, —denial,—apology,—pardon, over and over. I therefore resolved not to let this, which old Indians call "*knowing the people,*" go on; and I wrote to the Ameers, saying, I would not allow it to continue, they of course, continued their game, and I, as I had threatened, reported the infringements to Lord Ellenborough, who agreed with me, that their irritating, childish, and mischievous sort of secret warfare and intrigue should not continue; and as letters from the Ameers were intercepted, proposing to other powers, to league and drive us out of Scinde; Lord Ellenborough thought, and I think justly, that a new treaty should be entered into, which he sent me. I had laid before him the proposal, and I think, my treaty was a more fair treaty, at least, a more liberal treaty than his; but I do not, as far as I have been able to consider it, think his unjust. Mind I always reason upon affairs, as both Lord Ellenborough and myself *found them.* I cannot enter upon our right to be *here at all,* that is Lord Auckland's affair. Well! I presented the draft of the new treaty. The Ameers bowed with their usual apparent compliance, but raised troops in all directions. These I was ordered by the Governor-General to disperse. To disperse irregular troops, they having a desert at their back, and four hundred miles of river to cross and run up the mountains, and all this with their chiefs swearing they submitted to everything, to get me into the *hot* weather when I could not move, and thus cut off all our communications at their ease, was no trifle. In short it was to attack a "*Will o' the wisp.*" Every man is armed to the teeth, and armies of great strength could assemble and disperse like wildfire.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

[Note by Mr. Brown who was attached to Mr. Ross Bell's mission, on the number of Camels which that gentleman was accused of employing for his personal baggage, by Doctor Buist of the Bombay Times.]

"The late Mr. Ross Bell, political agent in Scinde, when marching through Cutchee, and above the passes, had to carry with him every article of consumption required by his camp. He had, I believe, as many as six hundred camels with his camp. He was refused aid in the field from the commissariat department by the military authorities. We never quitted therefore a commissariat station with less than ten days provisions. He had with him an escort of two companies of infantry, and from one to two hundred irregular horse. With establishments, officers attached to his agency and their servants, native chiefs and their followers accompanying his camp, the escort above mentioned and camel drivers, there were seldom less than twelve hundred men with the camp; for all of whom, besides camels, horses, and other beasts, it was necessary to carry supplies for ten days.

"The number of camels appears large but was found necessary by Mr. Ross Bell's successor* when simiarly marching."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

Section 1.

Extracts touching Sir C. Napier's aversion to war.

"In the northern district I, once a-year perhaps, saw ten thousand men under arms; here I have four thousand every day within reach of my voice almost, but at * * * there is good to be done to social order, and, after all, that is the most interesting life. *My life began and ended at Cephalonia, all before or since falls prostrate in comparison.*" Poonah, 3rd March, 1842.

"I am ordered to take a considerable portion of the territory which belongs to the Ameers or princes of Sukkur, 16th and 17th Dec. 1842.

* Major Outram.

Scinde, who have been plotting to turn us out by a simultaneous attack in concert with various allies: there are many of these princes, some are with us, some adverse. *My object is to save bloodshed.*"

"The enemies' troops assembled at their two capitals, Kyrpoor and Hyderabad, and a force at Larkaana. Of their numbers I know nothing: some people make them very great, others not, and they daily assemble. All I know is, that they are bad, and I could put them all into the Indus and wash them, then pull them out and squeeze them dry? However I act as if they were all Frenchmen."

"I have cut off the communication between the Ameers and their territory (ceded districts) and their town of Roree. So I shall effect what I am ordered to do, and, *unless they attack me, no blood will be spilled. I can produce a war in two hours if I like it, but I want to prevent it and trust in God I shall.* I am the only man in camp who does not wish for war with the Ameers, and their own peasantry detest them and are longing for us. But still they collect great numbers of Beloochees and other warlike tribes of the mountains: these robbers form their armies, and their deserts are difficult, and there are great jungles in the deserts. So it is necessary to be careful. A very little rashness might invoke disaster for my small army: and as it is, I have near nine hundred sick with fever. I shall move across the river in three days. I am only waiting to arrange the defence of my camp here against the tribes from Larkaana, who it is said mean to attack it the moment I move over to Roree and am engaged with the Ameers. *If they do it will be worse for them!*"—"I feel I am their master in every thing but numbers."—"How our troops got defeated by these tribes is to me inconceivable!"

March, 1842. "I mourn over the whole thing. *I hate bloodshed.* I did all I could to prevent it as my conduct will prove, and as every officer in this army knows; for they used to say, '*The General is the only man in camp who does not wish for a battle.*' The Ameers are the greatest *ruffians* I ever met with, without any exception; however I have only obeyed my orders."

[*Note.*—The above extracts, and other proofs to be given in the course of this work of Sir C. Napier's aversion to bloodshed, will it is hoped, suffice to expose the puling political argument, and gratuitous assumption to his disparagement, advanced in the debate on the vote of thanks by Lord Howick and his eight associates, who sung their single note so harmoniously together as to gain for them the nickname of the Nine Muses of the House of Commons; while their coadjutors outside, Messrs. Eastwick, Sulivan, and Marriot, in like manner gained that of the Three Graces of the India House.]

Section 2.

TOUCHING SIR C. NAPIER'S CONDUCT TOWARDS THE AMEER ROOSTUM.

Extract of a Letter from Sir C. Napier to Major Outram, 11th February, 1843.

"Roostum's plea of being sent to Ali Moorad by me is a shallow affair, because, in the first place, he sent a secret message (by Moyadeen, I think Brown told me) to say he was to all intents a prisoner in Kyrpoor, and that he had tried to send away his family, and was obliged to bring them back, after they were on the road, and that he would escape and come to my camp. Brown knows all this matter. The messenger said, he, Roostum, would do whatever I advised. My answer was, "Take your brother's advice—go to him, and, either stay with him, or *I will escort you to my camp.*" His flying from his brother's camp proves that he was not a prisoner. His not flying to mine, proves either his DUPLICITY or his *imbecility*. I believe the latter, but imbecility is not a legitimate excuse for Rulers! I have only to deal with his acts. He played you the same trick. He even now stands out! He cannot say Ali Moorad still influences him! I believed he did at first, but he does not *now;* and I am half inclined *now* to doubt the fact, though I did not do so at first. But as I said, the intrigues of these people are nothing to me; only I will

not let his cunning attempt to cast his conduct on my advice pass. He went *contrary* to my advice, and now wants to make out that he went *by it*."

December. 1843. "Outram told me what a fine fellow Ali Moorad was; how frank and open, and a thorough friend of ours; adhering to his treaty honestly, as indeed he has done up to this moment. Well! I was quite new to them all, and one night, 18th of December, 1842, a secret message came to me from Roostum, to say, he was a prisoner among his family, and they forced him to act against the English; he begged of me to receive him in my camp, for he was helpless. I wrote to him the above letter [the letter given in the text, chapter VI, advising him to go to his brother, &c. &c.] He did go to his brother, and then would not see me! I really know not what I am found fault with for. He did not take my advice, he only took a part. Now if I advised him to take a seidlitz powder, and he drank only the *acid* powder, he could have no right to complain that I gave him a pain in his belly. But this is exactly what Roostum did. He went to Ali Moorad, as I advised; but he neither remained with him as I advised, nor came to me as I advised. He made over everything to Ali Moorad and then fled, and proclaimed that he was forced! The formal way in which he made all over to Ali, has been proved in detail, and is in the hands of Government: it was also submitted to the Mahometan College, by order of the Governor-General, and the College pronounced it perfectly correct, in all particulars.

"Now, why did not the Ameer Roostum meet me? If he was forced, as he pretends, why not tell me? "Oh!" said Outram, "he was afraid. Ali Moorad made him think you were going to put him in prison." My answer was, "Why should he think so? There was not the slightest motive; but if he did fear it at Dejee, that was no excuse for his not meeting me when I overtook him on the march to Emaum Ghur, and when I had force to seize him and all that were with him; and when instead of doing so I sent you, Outram, his friend of four years

acquaintance, to invite him to come to my tent, and you returned with his two sons, and brought me a message, that he was so *tired* he could not come himself. He could have no fear then." To this Outram said, "Oh! Ali has bribed all about him." This was nonsense; he had humbugged Outram.

"Well! after Emaum Ghur Outram again met him on the road to Kyrpoor, and he agreed to meet Outram there the next day to discuss the treaty, but was again *so tired* that he advised Outram to ride on and he would follow early next morning. Off went Outram, duped; and the moment he was out of sight, Roostum ordered his baggage to be packed, and marched that night with all his treasure and seven thousand men, who he had kept out of sight of Outram, and also two pieces of cannon, and he never stopped till he got to Koonhera, a place sixty miles from Hyderabad, where he had land, and a fort, which he held until I captured him! Here you see that the proofs of my conduct are all clear. I wished to have *one* man to deal with instead of a *dozen*, and that dozen in the hands of an old fox Futteh Mohamed Ghoree, who was the sworn enemy of the English, and the man who was working to form a coalition to fall on us with Beloochees, Affghans, and Seiks, united to the number of two hundred thousand men; I having but seven thousand in Scinde, and those divided between Kurrachee and Sukkur, five hundred miles asunder! I wished the younger brother to be the minister of the other, the Mayor of the Palace, the King being an imbecile old fool, full of useless cunning, and in the hands of a clever knave and some six or seven violent young men. When I found Roostum had resigned the turban to his brother I was opposed to it; because, at first, *I thought it would produce war*, and I sent to Ali Moorad to advise him not to take it. His answer was, "he could not give it up; that it had been given to him by his brother in the most solemn manner, with all legal formality, and that he neither *could* nor

would give it back." I had in the meantime reflected upon the matter, and was convinced Ali was right. It made the matter a decided one, whereas the old idiot would constantly, by his cunning tricks, prevent Ali doing what was necessary. I, thinking it was voluntary, offered no opposition, but sought a meeting with old noodle to ascertain from his own lips that it was *voluntary*. I never *advised* him to give up the turban, I *consented* to it, because I thought it would *prevent bloodshed:* indeed, it mattered little whether I consented or not, for it was done before I knew of it; and Ali Moorad refused to undo it at my request. He proved right; for, as the sequel shewed, Roostum would have bolted, and used his power as "*Rais*" against us with some appearance of justice. I mean, that holding the Chieftaincy, he could have sanctioned acts which might have embarrassed us; for the Mahometans think much of whoever holds the *title*."—"The more this question is discussed about Roostum the better, because my conduct was quite honest. I advised Roostum to be *guided* by Ali Moorad. I never forced him to do anything. I never advised him to give up the turban, and when I heard he had, I tried to prevent it; and, when I could not prevent it, I sought an interview with him to be certain that the old man had not been *forced* or *ill used* by Ali. But he fled of his own free will. This is the whole story.

"I was very much afraid of the old man being killed in the attack of Kyrpoor, if the people defended it, and I knew this would be vexatious, and give a handle for abuse of all sorts from the infamous Indian press, than which the whole world cannot produce one more rascally. Besides, I pitied the old man. I thought he was the victim of his son, who wanted to get the turban against all law and right, and who, for aught I knew, might kill him on purpose in the row! They are capable of this, any one of them."

Extract of a Letter from Ali Moorad to Sir Charles Napier, Oct. 9th, 1843.

"Meer Roostum Khan, a week before he granted me the turban and territory, importuned me to accept them, saying, that none of his sons appeared qualified to possess the turban and rule the country; and that I should therefore take possession of of the turban and territory from him. He deputed to me at Kote Dehuj, his eldest son, Meer Mohamed Hoossein, Meer Nusseer Khan, Futteh Ghoree, Peer Ali Gohur, and certain other confidential persons to solicit me earnestly to accept the turban and territory. At last he came in person, bound the turban with his own hands, and of his own accord, around my head, made the entry in the Koran of his having granted me the whole of his country, sealed it and ratified it with his seal and signature, and thus distinctly made over his country to me. Supplementary Parliamentary Papers, Scinde. No. 176.

"How is it possible, then, that I should have used coercive measures to obtain possession of the country, since I had not even preferred a request to obtain it?"

Note by the Secretary to the Government of India.

"August 30, 1843.

"Sir C. Napier adverts to the legal bearing of the deed under which Meer Roostum abdicated in favour of Meer Ali Moorad.

"It had been represented to Sir C. Napier, that every chief is master of his own property, none of which can be entailed; that the will of the possessor decides who is to have the land; that if he gives it to his children, he may, in virtue of his paternal power, revoke that gift; but that if he gives it to a chief who is his equal, and over whom he has no paternal power, the deed is final.

"It is quite correct that every person is master of his own property, and that there can be no entail;—he may give it to whom he chooses. The gift, when possession has been obtained by the donee, is complete. It can, how-

ever, be cancelled under certain circumstances; but one of the barriers to cancelling a gift, is relationship within the prohibited degrees. A gift, therefore, to a son, cannot be cancelled any more than to a brother.* If made to a person not a husband or wife, nor within the prohibited degrees, it may, in certain cases, be cancelled.

"Sovereign power is not, however, considered property according to the Mahomedan law, nor is it regulated by the laws which govern the transfer of property, whether real or personal, for there is no distinction between the two. The legal title to sovereign power amongst the orthodox Mahomedans of the Soonee sect, rests upon the election of the chiefs or people; but, as there are few Sovereigns who could bear to have their titles subjected to this test, much ingenuity has been exercised by lawyers, to accommodate their system to modern usage. The accompanying opinions by the doctors of the Mahomedan college of Calcutta, are a fair specimen of the kind of arguments which can be brought forward. There is no reason to suppose the opinions to be otherwise than sound and correct. It is customary to refer to the law officers of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, when a legal opinion is wanted, but there is only one such officer now entertained in the court, and the post happens at the present time to be vacant. By referring to the college, the unanimous opinion of ten doctors has been obtained: some of them are very able men, and all of them are well informed on the subject.

"It will be seen that the opinions given lead to the same result as was represented to Sir C. Napier, though there is no ground for the possible distinctions which were supposed to exist. The abdication of Meer Roostum is complete and irrevocable; the assumption of the power by Meer Ali Moorad is also complete, and recognized by law.

"J. THOMASON."

* Vide Macnaghten's "Principles of Mahomedan Law," chap. v. par. 13, p. 51; Hamilton's "Hedaya," vol. iii. p. 302.

Questions and Answers respecting the legal effect of the transactions between Meer Roostum and Ali Moorad.

"*Ques.* 1.—The ruler of a country died and left his country and forts to his sons. They divided the country and forts amongst them, and each obtained full possession of his own portion. After a time, one of the sons gave, and made over to his brother, his country, forts, and power. In this case, can the donor recall his gift of country, forts, and power?"

"*Ans.*—The donor cannot recall his gift, because, when he has once removed the country, and power, and forts, from his own control, and made them over to his brother, he is necessarily divested of all authority, and becomes one of the subjects of the State. Thus no option of recalling his gift remains. Such is ruled in the books, but God knows what is right."

"*Ques.* 2.—What proof do you adduce that the ruler of a country cannot legally retract his gift to his brother, of his forts and country, and that he becomes thenceforward one of the subjects of the Government?"

"*Ans.*—There are two foundations of all authority and kingly power,—

"1st. The consent of the nobles and chiefs to the supremacy of any one.

"2nd. Obedience to his orders, in consequence of the establishment of his power and his supremacy. It is thus laid down in the Buhur-oor-rayik, in the chapter on Judicial Decrees, and in the Kazee Khan, in the chapter on Apostacy: 'A king obtains his power by two means:—first, by consent to his accession, and this consent must be on the part of the nobles and chiefs of the nation; and, secondly, by the obedience of the people to his orders, from fear of his power and superiority. But, if men consent to his accession, and yet no obedience is paid to his orders, from his inability to enforce them, he does not become a king. If, on the other hand, he become king by common consent, and then turn oppressor,

still, if his power and authority be confirmed, he cannot be deposed, for, if sentence of deposition were passed, he would yet remain king by his power and strength, and the sentence would be ineffectual; but, if he have no power and authority, then he would be deposed.' Now, since, in these troublous times, discord is the common practice, and union is seldom procured, therefore the learned men of later times have agreed upon this, that, in the present day, power and supremacy is the test of kingly authority. It is thus laid down in the Fatawa-i-Alumgiri and the Khuza-nutool-Mooftiem, in the chapter on Judicial Decrees, 'and, in our time, authority depends on superiority; and we do not inquire whether kings be just or unjust, because all of them seek after temporal power.'

" It is gathered from the drift of the question, that the ruler in question was actually possessed of power and supremacy; and whereas he gave over to his brother his country and power and forts, and divested himself of his supremacy and dignity, with all their attendant circumstances and pomp, and made these over to the donee, it follows that this gift and transfer could not have been made, without the deposition of himself. Thus necessarily the donor becomes completely deposed, and this may be gathered from a remark of Hunavee upon a passage in the Ushbah. The passage in the Ushbah is to the following effect: 'A king died, and the people consented to the succession of his minor son. It is necessary that the affairs of the administration be made over to a regent, and that this regent consider himself a dependent on the son of the king, on account of the superior rank of the latter. Now, the son is the king ostensibly, but the regent is king in reality.' Upon this passage Hunavee has remarked, 'The object of this arrangement is to meet the necessity for a renewal of the administration after his coming of age, for this cannot (legally) take place, except when the ruler has effected his own deposition, because a king cannot (legally) be deposed, except by his own act.'

" The ruler who makes the transfer, and is thus de-

posed, becomes one of the subjects of the realm: and this is established by a passage in the Hedaya, on the resignation of a judge,—'On account of the resignation, the power reverts to the people, and therefore he no longer retains the option of recalling his resignation.'

"Moohummed Wujeeb, *First Professor, Mahomedan College.*

"Mohummud Bushiruddin, *Second Professor, Mahomedan College.*

"Nooroolluck, *Third Professor, Mahomedan College.*

"Mahummud Ibrahim, *Fourth Professor, Mahomedan College.*

"Abdooruhrem, *Professor of Indian Law and Regulations.*

"Ghoolam Hoossein, *First Assistant..*

"Mahummud Muzheer, *Second Assistant.*

"Hubeeb-ool-Nubbee, *Third Assistant.*

"Ujeeb Ahmud, *Moulvee of the Law Examination Committee.*

"Humud Kubeer, *Secretary to the College Committee.*"

Section 3.

Notes and Observations by Sir Charles Napier touching conversations between himself and Major Outram.

Major Outram. "Ali Moorad is by far the best of the Ameers. I wish you knew him. He is good looking, a frank open manner that you cannot help liking. I wish you could see him, you would be pleased with him. At first he was quite opposed to us, and would have made war against us if the other Ameers had joined him, however seeing it was of no use to oppose us, he joined the alliance with us, and is the only one who has never given us cause of complaint. I am sure you will like him."

Sir C. Napier. "I believed all that Major Outram said as far as a certain point; that is to say, that Ali Moorad was a superior description of barbarian; but

I had had too much experience of barbarian chiefs to have much confidence in the best of them. They may be naturally very superior men, but the best of them is, and must be, under control of the petty chiefs who surround them; and however strong their own minds may be, the physical force which these petty chiefs command is too powerful to be resisted, and consequently, however naturally honest the great chief may be, you can never be sure of any engagement you enter into with him being fulfilled, unless that engagement involves the good wishes of the minor chiefs, or that you have power to force both him and them to a steady line of conduct. I therefore could not altogether confide in Major Outram's admiration of Ali Moorad: but it so far influenced me as to make me believe that he was the best among the Ameers of Kyrpoor to hold the rule in upper Scinde."

Major Outram. "The great agitator and cause of all opposition to the English is a scoundrel named Futteh Mohamed Ghoree. I have tried to catch this old villain, but he is such a cunning fox, that there is no discovering any fact which I can lay hold of. But allow me to put you on your guard against him, for he is the secret mover of all the breaches of treaty and insults that we have received from the northern Ameers: the Syud Mohamed Shurreef whom I caught with so much trouble was merely one of this old villain's emissaries."

Sir C. Napier. "These observations of Major Outram, I considered as the result of long experience in the petty politics of Scinde. I scarcely knew Major Outram then, but his public character and position gave me a right to confide in his opinion. I therefore assumed upon his authority, that Ali Moorad was the man to look to, and Futteh Mohamed Ghoree, the man to be watched in any transactions I might have with the Ameers. *It is curious, that within a month or six weeks of this time, Ali Moorad being then Rais, and Futteh Mohamed Ghoree a prisoner, there was no term of abuse too strong in Major Outram's opinion for Ali Moorad! and the Major asked me to let Futteh Mohamed Ghoree loose! having*

himself before told me that this man ruled Meer Roostum; that he was the bitter enemy of the British; the most intriguing and dangerous man to our interests in all Scinde! This dangerous man he would have had me let loose at the most critical juncture of affairs that ever existed between us and the Ameers; namely, at the moment of my return from Emaum Ghur, when I had summoned a general meeting of the Ameers of upper and lower Scinde, personally, or by their vakeels, to discuss the new treaty: the question of peace or war being in the balance! Futteh Mohamed ruled the majority of the Ameers of Kyrpoor, and yet Major Outram wanted me to let him loose! If Major Outram wanted to secure our having war, such a step was likely to accomplish it. I positively refused to agree to it, and was in utter astonishment at Outram being so short-sighted as to propose it, which he did, at the request of Meer Roostum!

Now let us consider how the elevation of Ali Moorad to the turban took place.

First, I will give you two extracts from Major Outram's letter to the Government of India, dated 21st April 1842.

1*st Extract.* "Even were not right so clearly in Ali Moorad's favour, I should have been loth to advise the attempt to dispossess him in favour of any other party, of what he now holds; for it could only be done at the risk of considerable disturbance, Meer Ali Moorad being by far the most powerful, influential, and able of all the upper Scinde Ameers; on which account, so far from wishing to weaken his power, I would consider it politic to strengthen him, at least by our countenance and guarantee to such a degree as will induce his assuming the chieftainship in upper Scinde without opposition on the demise of Roostum Khan."

2*nd Extract.* "My opinion is that it would be both just and politic to support Meer Ali Moorad: the public recognition of whom, and investiture with the turban, by the British representative when Meer Roostum dies, most probably would at once put an end to the intrigues

of other parties for that distinction; and at any rate Meer Ali Moorad would not be likely to require further support, than merely the countenance of the British government. Whereas, as he would not under any circumstances relinquish what he deems his right, and is powerful enough to maintain his own cause against the power of the other party, we should have to support the latter with troops did we espouse their cause."

Observations by Sir C. Napier. "Major Outram here speaks of the death of Meer Roostum, but his resignation of the turban, whether to Ali Moorad or to his son Hoossein Ali, was the same thing: it was the cessation of Meer Roostum's wear of the turban.

"My mind being embued with the substance of this letter and Major Outram's conversations, made me accept with pleasure an invitation from his Highness to meet him at Roree. After some time had passed in general conversation in the Dhurbar, his Highness invited me to retire with him and his vakeel into a private apartment of the tent. Lieutenant Brown was with me, and the following conversation took place:

Ali Moorad. "My brother Meer Roostum is about to give the turban to his son Meer Mohamed Hoossein. By the laws of Scinde, if he dies, I inherit the turban. If he abdicates he can only legally do so in my favour—he has no right to pass over me, and place the turban on the head of my nephew. I am willing to obey him, but I will not allow him to give the turban to any one else—what I want to know from you General, is, if we quarrel, do you mean to assist Meer Roostum or not? I am determined to assert my right. I have force enough to do so, if you will be neuter, but, at any rate, I am determined to maintain my right by force of arms, whether you agree to it or not."

Sir C. Napier. "I will certainly give you assistance to take the turban from your *nephew*, but not from your *brother*. By treaty we are obliged to support the Ameers in their respective rights, one against the other. My duty here is to maintain the treaties, and you may be sure of my doing so in your case in all lawful rights."

Ali Moorad. "That is all I want. I wish my brother to keep the turban, and I will obey him; but I will not allow him to give it to any one else."

Another conversation. "*Ali Moorad.* I have great affection for my elder brother. I am ready at all times to obey him, and I always have obeyed him, but he has become so weak and vacillating, that if you go into his room and make any arrangement with him, however important it may be, he will change it all, if the next person that goes in thinks fit to propose another scheme. Now, as Futteh Mohamed Ghoree is always with him, and always making war upon me, I am obliged to defend myself, not against my brother but against Futteh Mohamed Ghoree, who controls him in every thing. I am determined not to let Futteh Mohamed wear the turban, and I will not obey his orders. I am much stronger than my brother's family. I beat them lately in battle. Every body knows I can take the turban if I choose by force, but I don't want it: I wish my brother to remain chief."

"Embued by Major Outram with a good opinion of Ali Moorad, of whom all the English with whom I conversed at Sukkur held the same opinion, I gave credit to what he said, because I knew the mischievous character of Futteh Ghoree, and the imbecility of Roostum was proverbial. Soon after, a message arrived from Roostum, claiming my protection against the intrigues of his own family; this offered an opportunity of having one man to deal with, instead of a faction, with which it was impossible for a civilized government to deal, and into whose intrigues, with due respect to Major Outram, and his predecessors, I considered it undignified for a great government to enter, and from the first, I determined not to enter into them. I was resolved, when there was a breach of treaty, whether great or small, I would hold *all* the Ameers responsible, and would not be played off like a shuttlecock, and told *this* was done by one Ameer, *that* by another, and so have a week's inquiry to find out who was responsible for aggression; for I at once

saw, on arriving at Scinde, that this hide and seek, shifting responsibility, was the game which the Ameers had been playing. The proposal of Meer Roostum to come into my camp, offered me an easy remedy for this evil, and having adopted the high opinion of Ali Moorad entertained by Major Outram, I had no hesitation in recommending his brother to seek his protection and be advised by him: but it must be borne in mind as a matter of first importance, and one upon which the gist of the thing depends, that, while advising Roostum to be guided by his brother, I, having suspicion, despite the high character given by Major Outram of Ali Moorad, that some intrigue *must* be going on, gave Meer Roostum the option of coming, and an invitation to come to my camp, and to put himself under my protection. I use the word *must*, because it is utterly impossible for me to believe that any Eastern divan can act without intrigue.

"By my advice to Roostum, which was not given until asked, I offered to him the honourable and powerful protection of the British government. This he did not choose to accept. He went to his brother, and then he fled from that brother, with his usual vacillating imbecility, an imbecility I believe to have been produced by his long habits of drunkenness; for he is said never to be sober after mid-day That this flight was caused by Ali Moorad, as Major Outram affirms, I do not now believe. I have neither seen nor heard of any thing to make me believe it. He deceived Major Outram twice in the same manner, if not oftener. Thus, when he promised to meet Major Outram at Kyrpoor next morning, but walked off to the south with a large armed force and his treasure, he could not have been influenced by Ali Moorad, who was then far off with me in the desert. He had played me the same trick on my first arrival at Sukkur, long before there was any question of a new treaty, and when Ali Moorad could have no interest to prevent our meeting.

"When I heard he had resigned the turban to Ali

Moorad, I disapproved of it, and Mr. Brown will recollect my sending Ali Moorad's vakeel back to him with this message. I even recommended him to return the turban, and act as his brother's Lieutenant. His answer was the deed had been executed in due form, before all the Moolahs or Priests, and that it was impossible to alter it. I had nothing to reply. I had no business to interfere with the private arrangements of the Ameers. I was authorized to give advice when asked. I was obliged by existing treaties to give protection to any Ameer whose rights were invaded by another; but I was not called upon to originate a complaint when none was made to me, and especially in a case, which, whether originating or not in family intrigue, had a result so favourable to my own Government and useful to that of the Ameers. I therefore did not interfere between Ali Moorad and his brother. The proofs that he was voluntarily elected by Roostum were laid before me. I sought to have an acknowledgment that it was a voluntary act from Roostum's own lips, but he pertinaciously avoided meeting me; nor was Major Outram able to bring about a meeting afterwards. I believe it was his own family prevented the meeting; they were afraid he would confess to having voluntarily given up the turban. Evidence of their complete power over him from beginning to end are not wanting in every transaction that I have had with him since I have been in Scinde.

"As to Ali Moorad's conduct, I do not believe Major Outram can give proof of any thing he alleges against him; all his allegations are general, there is nothing specific. If the not joining his family in their breaches of treaty be betraying his family, it is clear that he has betrayed them; but I know of no other act of treason against them. Ali Moorad may be any thing Major Outram chooses to accuse him of being, but there must be something specific and accompanied by proof. I have heard of neither. We will even suppose, what I do not admit, though I suspected it at the time, that Ali Moorad bullied his brother into ceding the turban and his

estates; he, Ali Moorad, guaranteeing a due and dignified maintenance to Roostum. We will suppose this, and change the position of the individuals. Suppose Roostum an English gentleman of a large fortune, eighty-five years of age, perfectly imbecile, incapable of managing his estates. Ali Moorad is his legal heir; those who are not his heirs try to deprive him of his inheritance. What would the law of England do? I imagine it would give him the guardianship of the estate and of the old idiot, under certain restrictions. Well! what the law of England would have done for him, Ali Moorad did for himself and by his own power!

"However upon these matters Major Outram, or Major any-body, may form their own opinions; they are indifferent to me; but Major Outram had not a right to tell Sir George Arthur, that I had given power and riches to Ali Moorad and that had caused the war, because there is no foundation for such an erroneous assertion; and by giving his notes of a conversation with Meer Roostum and the other Ameers at Hyderabad, in which I am represented, and certainly by implication made to have forced Roostum into his brother's power, and to the surrender of the turban and all his territory, without accompanying such notes with my denial of the circumstance, I do consider Major Outram to have acted very unjustly towards me, if Major Outram did so; of which however I have no proofs, except hearing of his notes being in the hands of high and influential authorities without any notice being taken of my contradiction. All this I am determined shall be cleared up."

[*Note.*—Sir Charles Napier did clear up the matter, and the result was that he wrote a final letter to Major Outram, breaking off all friendship and intercourse with him. But at the time the above notes were written, a rumour was rife that Scinde was to be delivered back to the Ameers, and that Ali Moorad was to be deprived of his territory for *his treachery to the Ameers!!* Upon these rumours Sir Charles thus remarked in continuation of his notes, as follows:—]

"With regard to returning Scinde to the Ameers, I consider it would be a match for the imbecility of old Roostum. With regard to the depriving Ali Moorad of his territory, I think the more we take into our own hands the better for the Scindian people, and for humanity; but, as Aristides said to the proposal of Themistocles, '*It would be advantageous but not just.*' I do not see how it is possible to deprive a man of his territory, who has not committed a single breach of treaty; or been even suspected of having done so; and who has always been ready to be a mediator between the English and his family. I have now stated facts from which every one who reads them can form his own opinions. My own are formed and immoveable."

Section 4.

Touching Sir C. Napier's Opinion of Lord Ellenborough's Conduct.

Extract from a Private Letter, April, 1843.—"I see that all sorts of attacks are made upon Lord Ellenborough's policy, in England as well as here. As regards India the cause is this. Lord Ellenborough has put an end to a wasteful expenditure of the public money by certain civil servants of the State, who were rioting in the plunder of the treasury: at least, such is the general opinion. These men are all intimate with the Editors of papers, and many of them engaged with them; they, therefore, fill the columns of the newspapers with every sort of gross abuse of Lord Ellenborough's proceedings. But men begin to see through this, and justly to estimate Lord Ellenborough's excellent government, in despite of these jackals driven by him from their prey. His Lordship destroyed a system calculated to ruin India, or any country; and to which all our misfortunes in Affghanistan are justly attributed.

"The army was degraded, vilified, run down, till it really began to be infected with a bad opinion of itself. When I arrived at Poonah, I saw and heard such things

that I had no difficulty in accounting for our misfortunes. I felt ashamed of my profession; the military spirit seemed to have gone!

"At this time Lord Ellenborough arrived. He gave public expression to his confidence in the army. The troops then felt they had a protector, and the military spirit came back. The military felt they were no longer commanded by ignorant political agents. Then came the medals for the marches and victories at Cabool, and the army regained its self-confidence. All this was effected by Lord Ellenborough in ten months; and I chiefly attribute my own good fortune to the spirit infused into the military by Lord Ellenborough, and to those admirable general arrangements which enabled me to apply that spirit with effect. Yet this is the man who is abused in every way, though no error can be brought against his government.

"Let facts speak.

"This time last year, India was all gloom and despondency—this year every one is cheerful and confident. The armies in Affghanistan were then supposed to be lost! They became victorious, and are now on the right side of the Indus! In short, all is safe and flourishing! But the treasury is no longer pillaged by the civil servants of the public! In that lies his Lordship's crime!"

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